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UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON PORTRAITS

SOME OF THE EARLY ARTISTS

IN introducing the beautiful Robertson miniatures, about which so much has been written and so little known, for the first time to the American reader, it is instructive to note the progress of a refined sentiment in this country through the freshly awakened interest in the varied portraiture of Washington. Since the issue of the "Washington Number" of this magazine many a long unused key has been turned bringing to light heir-looms rare and precious—notably the gems of art and silent eloquence which form our frontispiece. It will be seen on critical inspection of these how materially the portrait of Martha Washington differs from the one hitherto supposed to be the genuine Robertson, which appeared on page 107 in February last. The facts were as then stated in reference to these miniatures having been retained in the family of the artist and made into brooches; but they were never engraved until now. The one heretofore used may have been one of Robertson's later productions, but that remains to be proven. The originals, exquisitely executed on ivory in water-colors, now belong to the two granddaughters of Robertson, Mrs. Charles W. Darling of Utica, and Mrs. S. M. Mygatt of New York city. They represent the artist's first portrait work in this country, while he was spending some weeks for the purpose of study in the Presidential mansion at Philadelphia, and are believed to be the finest examples of his painting extant.

Each of the early artists who interpreted for himself on ivory or canvas the moral energy and genuine nobility reflected from the serene countenance of our great American commander, whose entire life was oppressed with responsibility, illustrated an important chapter in that particular period of our history. Each original portrait—painted from life—has long since become of priceless value to its possessor, and it is an event of exceptional interest when any one of these antique treasures makes, after so many years, its initial bow to the public. The portraits of Charles Wilson Peale are widely dispersed and doubly suggestive as cherished memorials

of the rise and development of native American genius in art at a crisis in our country's destiny. One of his productions during the early years of the revolutionary struggle is the fine bust portrait of Washington, which, through the courtesy of its present owner, we publish for the first time this month on a subsequent page.

Archibald Robertson was a Scotchman from Aberdeen, some thirty years of age when he came to America. He had studied art with Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West, and had used his own brush with such success in London as to attract attention from the English court, where he was called the "Reynolds of Scotland." The Earl of Buchan, noting his signs of promise in portraiture, invited him to an interview immediately after learning of his contemplated removal to the New World, and gave him a letter of introduction to Washington, thereby paying him one of the greatest of compliments. He was instructed to deliver the letter with his own hand, and in order to secure beyond failure his admission into the presence of the President of the United States, the Earl committed also to the artist's care a gift intended for Washington—the famous "Wallace box." Robertson arrived in New York city October 2, 1791, and, without much delay, waited upon the President in Philadelphia, then the seat of government, and fulfilled his engagement with Buchan by placing in person the box and its enclosure in the hands of Washington himself. The letter from Buchan to Washington was as follows:

Sir:

DRYBURGH-ABBEY, June 28th, 1791.

I had the honor to receive your excellency's letter relating to the advertisement of Doctor Anderson's periodical publication in the Gazette of the United States; which attention to my recommendation I feel very sensibly, and return you my grateful acknowledgments.

In the 21st number of that literary miscellany, I inserted a monitory paper respecting America, which I flatter myself may, if attended to on the other side of the Atlantic, be productive of good consequences. To use your own emphatic words, "May that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect, consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the American people a government instituted by themselves for public and private security, upon the basis of law and equal administration of justice, preserving to every individual as much civil and political freedom as is consistent with the safety of the nation; and may He be pleased to continue your life and strength as long as you can be in any way useful to your country.

I have entrusted this sheet inclosed in a box made of the oak that sheltered our great Sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk, to Mr. Robertson of Aberdeen, a painter, with the hope of his having the honor of delivering it into your hands; recommending him as an able artist, seeking for fortune and fame in the New World. This box was presented to me by the Goldsmith's Company at Edinburgh, to whom, feeling my own unworthiness to receive this magnificently significant present, I requested and obtained leave to make it



ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON

JULY 8th 1805, AGED 40.

26 79 Liberty Street
NEW YORK.

[From a rare print, in possession of the family.]

over to the man in the world to whom I thought it most justly due; into your hands I commit it, requesting of you to pass it, in the event of your decease, to the man in your own country, who shall appear to your judgment to merit it best, upon the same considerations that have induced me to send it to your excellency.

I am with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient

And obliged humble servant,

BUCHAN.

General Washington,

President of the United States of America.

P. S.—I beg your excellency will have the goodness to send me your portrait, that I may place it among those I most honor, and I would wish it from the pencil of Mr. Robertson. I beg leave to recommend him to your countenance, as he has been mentioned to me favorably by my worthy friend, Professor Ogilvie, of King's College, Aberdeen.

Robertson has left in his personal handwriting a graphic account of this first interview with President Washington, which is best told in his own language:

"The bearer of Lord Buchan's compliments, although familiarly accustomed to intimate intercourse with those of the highest rank and station in his native country, never felt as he did on his first introduction to the American hero. The excitation in the mind of the stranger was evidently obvious to Washington, for from his ordinary cold and distant address he declined into the most easy and familiar intercourse in conversation, with a view to disembarass his visitor from the agitation excited by the presence of a man whose exalted character had impressed him with the highest sentiments of respect and veneration for such lofty virtue. Washington easily penetrated into the heart and feelings of Lord Buchan's friend, and he left no means untried to make him feel perfectly at ease in his company during the period he intended to spend with him in Philadelphia. The General, not finding his efforts altogether successful, introduced him to Mrs. Washington, whose easy, polished and familiar gayety, and ceaseless cheerfulness, almost accomplished a cure, by the aid of her grandchildren, G. W. Custis and Miss Eleanor Custis, afterwards Mrs. Lewis, and wife to the nephew of General Washington. Another effort of the first President to compose his guest was at a family dinner party, in which the General, contrary to his usual habits, engrossed most of the conversation at the table, and so delighted the company with humorous anecdotes that he repeatedly set the table in a roar. The result of these attentions the General now perceived had nearly produced a radical change, and to have the desired effect of fitting the artist for the task he had undertaken for Lord Buchan, in making as good a likeness of Washington as he possibly could. The artist being now prepared, and left to his own direction in the manner and way he should proceed in his process, preferred making his original first attempt in miniature on ivory, in water-colors; *pari passu*, he at the same time painted a likeness of Mrs. Washington as a mate to the General's. The original one painted for Lord Buchan was in oils, and of a size corresponding to those of the collection of portraits of the most celebrated worthies in liberal principles and in useful literature in the possession of his Lordship at Dryburgh Abbey, near Melrose, on the borders of Scotland."

Robertson then goes on to describe the dinner at the President's, which he says was at three o'clock, "was plain, but suitable for a family in genteel and comfortable circumstances. There was nothing specially remarkable at the table, but that the General and Mrs. Washington sat side by side, he on the right of his lady; the gentlemen on his right hand and the

President Washington. Martha Washington.

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Colonel John Trumbull. ○

○ Mrs. General Green.

Colonel Tobias Lear. ○

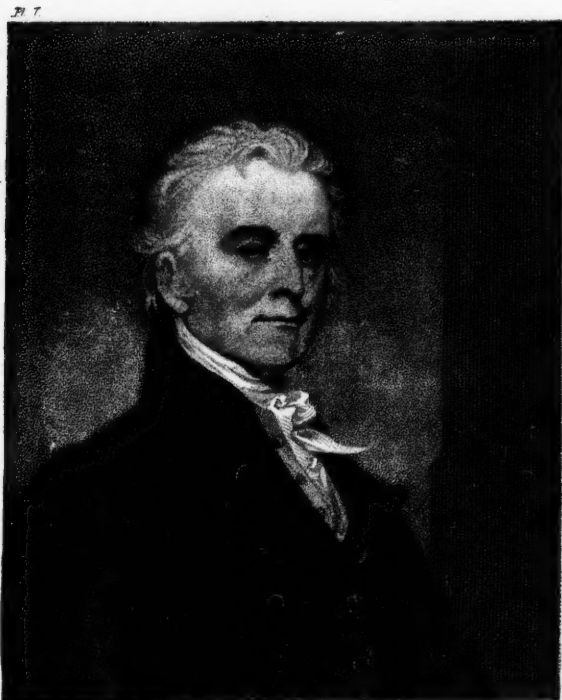
○ Miss Eleanor Custis.

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○

Major Jackson. Archibald Robertson.

ladies on her left. It being on Saturday, the first course was mostly of



Lepore pinxit 1833

Duggell, Newman & Co. Sculp.

Wm. Trumbull

eastern cod and fresh fish. A few glasses of wine were drunk during dinner, with other beverage; the whole closed with a few glasses of sparkling champagne, in about three-quarters of an hour, when the General and Colonel Lear retired, leaving the ladies in high glee about Lord Buchan and the 'Wallace box.'"

This quaint "Wallace box" was about four inches long, three broad, and two deep, constructed of six pieces of the heart of the oak that sheltered Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk. It was one-eighth of an inch thick, finely polished on the outside, and the whole united by an elegant silver binding, the lid opening upon hinges one-third down

the side, having a silver plate inside bearing the inscription: "Presented by the goldsmiths of Edinburgh to David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the freedom of their corporation, by their Deacon, 1791."

The gift of this box to Washington was esteemed one of the highest of compliments. The Scotchman said: "The glory of triumphant military skill and bravery, although sufficiently appreciated by enlightened men of liberal views, was thought nothing to that of being the happy instrument of establishing on correct principles a genuine representative civil government. The progress of the states was anxiously and dubiously regarded by true philosophers and the friends of free principles in Europe until the final establishment of the federal Constitution by the installation of Washington as its first President. For an idea had gone abroad, namely—'No Washington, no free government.' But then all doubts vanished. It cannot be denied that there were those who wished for a government founded on the bayonet, but Providence spared Washington sufficiently long to accomplish the great work, and frown down such an attempt. Among no people did the happy settlement of the federal government afford more satisfaction than to the host of enlightened and liberal-minded Scottish patriots of every rank, who, deploring the abuses of the government under which they were born, rejoiced in the happiness of their transatlantic kinsmen, who wished to convey to the American hero, by a palpable memorial, the most expressive idea of a Scotsman's highest respect for the character and virtues of the modern American Wallace."

The correspondence between Washington and Buchan, in reference to the "Wallace box," is of much interest; but our space will only admit of the following clause from Washington's will, by which the box was returned to its giver on his decease:

"To the Earl of Buchan, I recommit the box made of the oak that sheltered the brave Sir William Wallace after the battle of Falkirk, presented to me by his lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me. Whether easy or not to select the man who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, who presented to him, and at his request consented that it should be transferred to me—I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and especially for the favorable sentiments with which he accompanied it."

Two brothers of Archibald Robertson, Andrew and Alexander, followed him to this country, and together they opened a school for painting,

sculpture, engraving, and architecture, at 79 Liberty street, New York city—a school which flourished for two score years, with results not easily measured or adequately estimated. One of the pupils in this institution was John Vanderlyn. Robertson also opened a studio for himself, and instituted lecture courses. He painted several portraits of Washington, one in oil, on a slab of marble nine by twelve inches, at the President's suggestion while he was sojourning in the Executive mansion. It is described as "a half-length; three-quarters view, coat of snuff-color with an exuberance of shirt-ruffle, a highly-finished work in appearance as soft as if on ivory." He executed a great variety of sketches of places and scenes, a marked example being the view of New York city from the Jersey shore prior to the beginning of the present century, now in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

It is said that Charles Wilson Peale painted Washington from life fourteen times—in full, three-quarters, half length, and in miniature. From these originals he made many copies. One of his best known works, Washington as a Virginia colonel, executed in 1772, was reproduced, so says a French writer, more than one hundred times. For upwards of a decade the elder Peale was the only American portrait painter known to fame, and was sought by sitters from afar—not infrequently from Canada and the West Indies. Watson and Smybert, who gave the earliest professional impulse to the art in America, had long since passed away; Copley, who caught his first notions of color and drawing from Smybert's copy of Vandyke, was in England; Trumbull, who conceived a fascinating idea of the career of a painter from Copley's elegant costumes of crimson velvet, and comfortable mode of life, when he visited him at the time of his marriage, and Gilbert Stuart, had not yet become familiar names; and Robert Fulton and William Dunlap were twenty years younger than Peale. Several miniatures were painted by Peale while at Mount Vernon in 1772. There is an entry in Washington's account book of personal expenses as follows:

	" May 30th, 1772.
By Mr. Peale drawing my pict.	£18 4s.
" Miniature for Mrs. Washington.....	13
" Ditto for Miss Custis.....	13
" Ditto for Mr. Custis.....	13

57 4s.

Peale also painted miniatures of both Washington and Mrs. Washington in the year 1776. In response to a request from Mrs. Washington,

Peale took charge of the setting of some of these miniatures in the winter of 1780-1781, as the following correspondence reveals:

"New Windsor, Dec. 26, 1780.

Sir

I send my miniature pictures to you and request the favor of you to get them set for me. I would have them as bracelets to wear round the wrists. The pictures already set I beg you to have cut the same size as the two, and set alike, as I may make a pair of either of the three pictures. The diamonds may be set in a pin for the hair. I would have the three pictures set exactly alike, and all the same size. If you have no crystals yourself, if they can be had in the city, I beg you to get them for me. I would like to have them set neat and plain, and will be much obliged to you to hurry the person that undertakes the doing of them, as I am very anxious to get them soon.

I am, sir, your ob^d h^l sv^t,

MARTHA WASHINGTON.

In the box three miniatures, 2 half joes and small pieces of gold."

"Philad^a, January 16, 1881.

Dr Madam

The jeweller promises me to have the bracelets done in a few days. I have begged him to take the utmost pains to set them neatly. As no foreign glasses were to be had, I have moulded some of the best glass I could find, and got a Lapidary to polish them: which I hope will not be inferior to those made abroad. I have cut the pictures to one size, and mean to go a little further than you are pleased to direct—that is, to have square loopholes for occasional use as a locket, and the additional expense is inconsiderable.

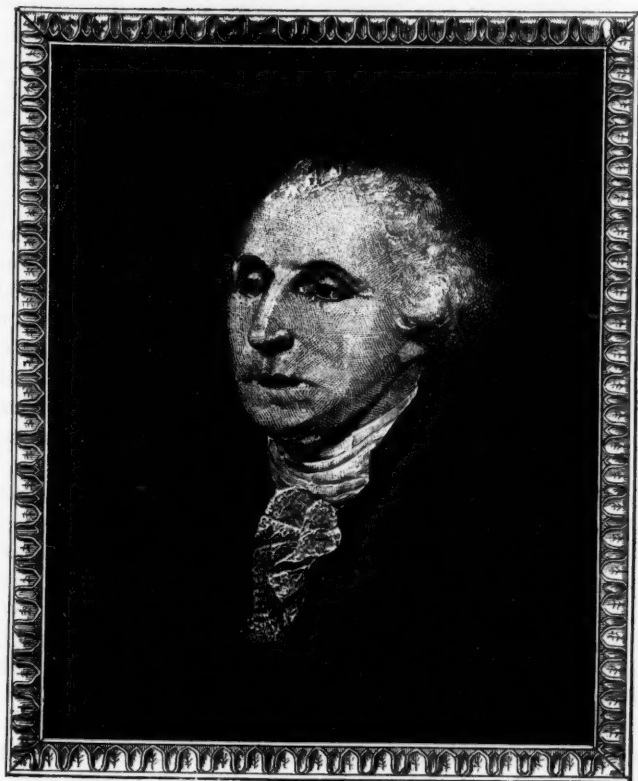
Respectfully yours,

C. W. PEALE.

Mrs. Martha Washington."

The eminent scholar, General G. P. Thruston of Nashville, Tennessee, is the possessor of the original bust-portrait of Washington—here for the first time engraved—the coloring of which is superb. In the "Original Portraits of Washington" by Miss Johnston, a work issued in 1882, appears the following paragraph:

"The only bust-portrait of Washington of cabinet size, from the hand of Charles Wilson Peale, once belonged to Captain Williams of the Topographical Bureau, who married Miss Peter, a great grand-daughter of Mrs.



George Washington

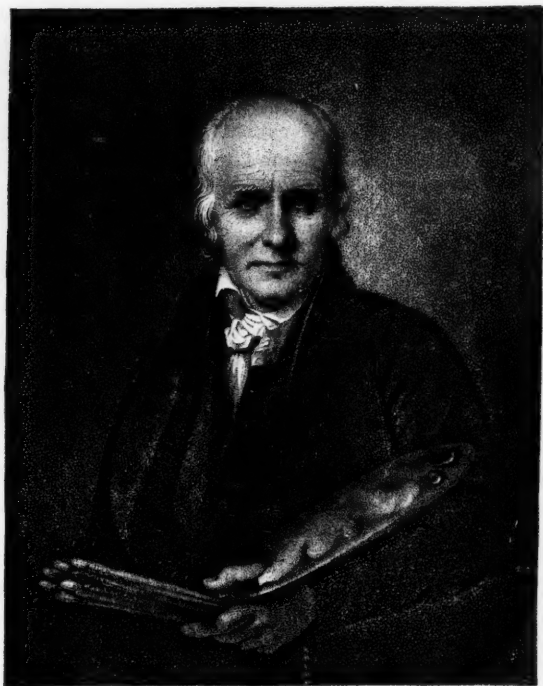
FROM THE BUST PORTRAIT BY CHARLES WILSON PEALE, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[The painting is in possession of General G. P. Thruston, Nashville, Tennessee.]

Washington. This portrait, in 1832, became the property of Judge Thruston of Kentucky, and descended to his daughter, the late Mrs. Jeanette Thruston Powell. It is very brilliant in tone and readily identified as a work of Peale, though there was a tradition attributing it to Gilbert Stuart. It is now in the possession of Admiral L. M. Powell, Washington."

Admiral Powell left the picture by will to his nephew, General Thruston, who prizes it as it deserves.

The versatility of talent which characterized Charles Wilson Peale, uniquely illustrates the times in which he lived. He made up in unceasing energy what he lacked in opportunity; he began life in 1741, and was twenty-six before he studied painting, although it appears to have been his natural bent from childhood. He was at one time and another a saddler, harness-maker, silversmith, watchmaker, carver in ivory, moulder of glass, schoolmaster, janitor, painter, engraver, soldier, inventor, lecturer, author, sportsman, naturalist, scientist, legislator, and the first dentist in the country who manufactured sets of enamel teeth. And he made a very respectable figure in each calling. There was very little to encourage his seeking art as a profession, no standard, no school, no support. "You have come a great way to starve," said Benjamin West, when told that his subsequently distinguished countryman had visited London to study at the Royal Academy. Dr. Franklin wrote to Peale in 1771, "there is no doubt of the Arts flourishing hereafter on our side of the Atlantic, as the number of wealthy inhabitants shall increase, who may be able and willing suitably to reward them; since, from several instances, it appears that our people are not deficient in genius." But even the great philosopher recognized the precarious nature of the vocation if depended upon for a subsistence, and advised Peale "to claim large prices before he should be compelled to wear spectacles." Peale, like many another of the early artists, found painting as capriciously remunerative as his early education for it was limited and accidental. He had to look to individuals for employment and support. Some twenty years later and long before commercial success had become honorably identified with tasteful liberality, Trumbull said to a young student of art, "You had better learn to make shoes or dig potatoes than become a painter in this country." The industry and genius of Peale triumphed, however, over all the depressing conditions of the period, and for what he achieved with his own brush and has handed along through the century, and because of his conscientious and intelligent labors in the cause of art, he is entitled to our everlasting gratitude. He painted the portraits of his family upon a large canvas in 1773—completed in 1809—known as the "Family Group," which hangs in the gallery of the



C. W. Peale

New York Historical Society. It embraces his own portrait and those of his wife and children, David Ramsay the historian, and his favorite dog, "Argus." All the portraits of Washington by Peale, independent of the professional skill which they represent in the infancy of native art, are essential to our gallery of Washingtonia. He also transferred to canvas the features of most of the celebrities, native and foreign, associated with American history and society in the beginning of our career as a nation, among whom were John Hancock, Robert Morris, Dr. Franklin, Lord Stirling, General Greene, Baron Steuben, General Gates, Dr. Witherspoon, Peyton Randolph, Rochambeau, De Kalb, Laurens, Chastellux, Albert Gallatin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dickinson, Lincoln, Volney, Pickering, George Clymer, Governor McKean, and Bishop White. His last work was

a full length portrait of himself, painted at the age of eighty-three. He died in 1826.

When Washington died, Malbone was but twenty-two years of age, and although he had been established for three years as a miniature painter in Boston, there is no record that he ever sought to distinguish himself by painting our first President. He was a native of Rhode Island, and his artistic gifts and social graces seem to have been inherited from his ancestors. He found in scene painting his first tangible hint of a possible future career. He became the intimate friend of Washington Allston, of South Carolina, who was two years his junior. In 1800 Malbone accompanied Allston to Charleston, and in that cultured Southern city he found immediate appreciation and sympathy. In all the principal cities of America Malbone's exquisite miniatures were scattered from time to time during his brief life which was terminated by death at the age of thirty. They are to be found in many of the families of Charleston; of Brigham and Peters, of Philadelphia; of the Derbys, of Salem, Massachusetts; of Erving, Amory, Dana, and others, of Boston—precious links of connection with the romantic past. It is the peculiar charm of miniatures that they are usually sacred to affection, are treasured in the casket or safe deposit vault, not exposed on the wall, and consequently regarded with a tenderness that language fails to express. What a perfect lyric is in poetry, the miniature is in painting. Malbone's drawing was absolutely correct, and he had a quick insight into character. Some remarkable examples of his work exist in the miniatures of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana, of Boston, made about the year 1799, which we have the pleasure of engraving for the first time, and presenting to our readers. Mr. Dana was the son of Benjamin Dana, of Cambridge; Mrs. Dana was Eliza Davis, daughter of Major Robert Davis who figured at the Boston Tea Party, and siege of Boston in the Revolution—a brother of General Amasa Davis, and Hon. Caleb Davis speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Mrs. William Dana's sister married William Ely of Hartford. These pictures were described, on one occasion, by the Newport art correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* as follows: "In the interest of art it may be well to mention that there are in existence two admirable miniatures on ivory by Malbone, of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana of Boston, painted from life, and they are remarkable for their beauty and finish and are considered among the finest efforts of that distinguished artist. They are in possession of Mrs. Charles Chauncey Darling, of New York."*

* Mrs. Charles Chauncey Darling, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Dana, having since died, these miniatures are now in possession of her son, General Charles W. Darling of Utica.



MRS. WILLIAM DANA.



WILLIAM DANA.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MINIATURES BY MALBONE, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED.

[In possession of General Charles W. Darling, Utica, New York.]

Malbone was excessively fond of music and poetry, loved everything that was beautiful, and, through his sweetness of temper and charming manners, won hosts of friends. His personal qualities and intellectual tastes were similar to those of Allston, and the close companionship of the two, alike gifted, candid, and earnest—their walks, discussions, criticisms of each other's art work, and contagious enthusiasm, was of great mutual advantage. Allston said: "Malbone had the happy talent of elevating the character without impairing the likeness; this was remarkable in his male heads. No woman ever lost any beauty from his hand; the fair would become still fairer under his pencil. To this he added a grace of execution all his own. He was amiable and generous, and wholly free from any taint of professional jealousy."

Martha J Lamb

THE ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

At the beginning of this century, the relations of the United States with foreign powers were much complicated. At no other period of our history have so many and such difficult questions of an international character been presented for discussion and settlement. The wisdom and firmness and potential influence of Washington, the strong republican convictions of Adams, the large and varied ability of Jefferson, Madison, and a number of eminent diplomatists, the patriotism and integrity of all, were demanded in full to adjust our new Republic to her rightful position in the family of nations. International jurisprudence was in an unsettled condition. It has very slowly acquired the certainty and precision now recognized by government courts and treatises on the Law of Nations. In fact, no nation since 1789 has contributed more to the settling of the principles which underlie the mutual rights and duties of independent political communities than the United States. In 1823, Canning, the Prime Minister, distinguished for his thorough knowledge of international law, said in the House of Commons: "If I wished for a guide in a system of neutrality, I should take that laid down by America in the days of the Presidency of Washington and the secretaryship of Jefferson." Phillimore, in his great work, says of the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809: "It was worthy of the country which has contributed such valuable materials to the edifice of International Law." President J. Q. Adams, in his message, 1826, speaks of our first treaty with Prussia as "memorable in the diplomatic annals of the world, and precious as a monument of the principles in relation to commerce and maritime warfare with which our country entered upon her career as a member of the great family of independent nations." The *Edinburgh Review*, in a notice of Judge Wharton's Digest, associating him in legal literature with Kent, Story and Wheaton, recognizes fully the indebtedness of modern international law to the United States, and adds: "The international law of the United States is characterized by a marked individuality and independence of thought. The statesmen of the Republic have not felt themselves bound by theories, however venerable, or been troubled by the conflicting views of eminent jurists. They have rested their contentions on clear principles which they have evolved for themselves, and they have enunciated their views without obscurity and with perfect straightforwardness."

The United States had just been admitted as a co-equal into the great family, but she was nevertheless regarded as a *parvenu*, an intruder, and the principles of her Constitution were looked upon with distrust and suspicion, not to say with hatred and contempt, by the crowned heads and those who affirmed and practiced the right of coalition against any power that sought to disturb the European equilibrium, or questioned the "right divine" of kings and nobility. At this day, when our power is respected and feared, and our growth and prosperity are an unceasing wonder, we can hardly understand how we were belittled and insulted, and what constant and studied disregard and violation of our equal rights were inflicted in our infancy. A willingness to go to war with France for the maintenance of our dignity, the punishment of the pirates in the Mediterranean, a war with England, extension of territory, an unwavering assertion of our equality, vindicated the right to an independent existence and to a participation in all that belonged to, or grew out of, the intercourse of nations. Perhaps the friction was greater, and the willingness to apply the law which governs external affairs of communities was more reluctant, because of the early avowals of Washington and Jefferson that our cis-Atlantic country was not to be harassed by entangling alliances with European states. Refusing to become an integral part of the great European system, to ally herself with foreign governments in their dynastic wars and endless disputes as to succession, balance of power and rectification of boundaries, the United States found the European governments inclined to ignore the rights of her citizens and her claim to the freedom of the seas.

Troubles with Spain began during the administration of Washington, and continued up to the slow acknowledgment of the independence of her former colonies, sometimes verging on serious hostilities. As early as 1788, with the connivance and active agency of Gardogne, the Spanish minister at Washington, an effort was made to detach the trans-Alleghany country from the Union, and in 1792, there was a serious difference of opinion and discussion as to the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1801, Mr. Charles Pinckney, then minister at Madrid, was instructed to urge on the Spanish government redress for sufferings from capture by privateers unlawfully cruising out of Spanish ports, and from unlawful condemnations by Spanish tribunals. The spoliations committed on American commerce were so heavy, and tribunals of justice and the government failing to give redress, a clear intimation was made that more effective measures must be resorted to. The importance of the question, Mr. Pinckney was told, would require all his zeal, patriotism and delicacy. Some effi-

cient effort was due to the sufferers and "to the dignity of the United States, which must always feel the insults offered to the rights of individual citizens." The irritations with Spain had been aggravated by her possessions on our frontier, by her national pride and sensitiveness, and by her ancient claims of precedence over other states.

The purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, excited a controversy between Spain and the United States which continued with more or less acrimony until the whole question of territory and boundary was settled by the acquisition of Florida. The acquisitions of Louisiana and Florida were almost inseparably allied, and our government, as early as 1804, sought, but in vain, the influence of the French government in favor of our construction of the treaty, and to help in the acquisition of territory east of the Perdido River. It would be a hopeless task to seek to unravel all the treaties made since that of Utrecht, 1713, which concern the extent and the boundaries of the various territorial divisions between Georgia and the Rio Grande.

In 1763, what was then known as Louisiana was divided between Great Britain and Spain. France lost by this treaty all her possessions in North America. In addition to Canada, she ceded to Great Britain the river and port of Mobile and all her possessions on the left side of the Mississippi, except New Orleans and the island on which it was situated. The residue of Louisiana was ceded to Spain in a separate and secret treaty. The cession of Florida to Great Britain was the price paid for the restoration of Cuba to Spain. Great Britain divided the territory into East and West Florida, and in 1783 ceded them to Spain, and the provinces were known and governed by these names as long as they remained under the dominion of His Catholic Majesty. Spain, thus owning both banks of the Mississippi at its mouth and for some distance above, claimed the exclusive navigation below the point of the southern boundary of the United States. The refusal of the use of the lower river aroused much and indignant feeling in the West. Kentucky and Virginia made vigorous protests against a proposition to concede Spain's right to close navigation. The angry dispute was terminated by the treaty of 1795, one article of which provided that the river should be open to the navigation of the citizens of the United States from its source to the ocean. Another article granted the right of deposit in the port of New Orleans and to export thence merchandise and effects on the payment of warehouse hire. By the treaty of October 1, 1800, between the French Republic and Spain, known as the St. Ildefonso treaty, Spain made a retrocession to France of the province of Louisiana as at that time possessed by Spain, and "such as it was when

France possessed it." When this cession occurred, Great Britain and the United States took alarm. Mr. Jefferson in his message, 15th December, 1802, said: "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject." With the sagacity of a statesman he saw how essential the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters were, to secure an uncontrolled navigation and an independent outlet for the produce of the Western states, "free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source," and therefore he authorized propositions to be made for obtaining the sovereignty of New Orleans and of other possessions in that quarter.

The abrupt closing of the port of New Orleans, without the assignment of any other equivalent place of deposit and the injuries sustained until the restoration of the right of deposit, suggested naturally the expediency of guarding against their recurrence by the acquisition of a permanent property near the entrance of the Mississippi into the Gulf. The first propositions were treated by France with decided neglect. "The French government," said Madison, "had manifested a repugnance to the purchase which left no expectation of an arrangement with France by which an acquisition was to be made, unless in a favorable crisis, of which advantage should be taken." The distress of French finances, the unsettled posture of Europe, the increasing jealousy between Great Britain and France, made "the favorable crisis," and Bonaparte, on 30th April, 1803, agreed to sell or cede his new acquisition to the United States. The words of the treaty were somewhat remarkable; but it is important, in view of subsequent discussions and negotiations, to bear in mind that in the transfer the identical language was employed that had been used in 1800, so that the government of the United States was subrogated, in express terms, to the rights of France and of Spain. Phillimore, in recording this "derivative acquisition" of territory, says: "It belongs to the province of the historian to record the ineffectual regret of deceived and injured Spain, and the sagacity of the United States in profiting by the troubles of Europe, both at this period and subsequently by the acquisition of Florida.

Spain remonstrated with France against the cession of Louisiana, and endeavored to prevent the execution of the treaty, being not unwilling to use pecuniary arguments if they promised success. Mr. Cevallos, the Spanish minister for Foreign Affairs, in an interview with Mr. Charles

Pinckney, our minister at Madrid, denied the right of France to make such a cession, alleging that in the preceding cession by Spain to France there was a secret article that France should never part with Louisiana except to Spain, and that if she ever wished to dispose of it, Spain should have the preëmption.*

This discontent of Spain increased her unwillingness to make a prompt and peaceable settlement of the vexed questions which had been pending for some years between the two countries, and which every month's delay increased in number and exasperation. In the instructions to Mr. Pinckney, March 31, 1804, Mr. Madison made an elaborate argument to show that the eastern boundary of Louisiana extended to the Perdido. For many years the controversy was waged. The United States insisted that by the treaty of 1800 Spain ceded the disputed territory, as part of Louisiana, to France, and that France, in turn, in 1803, ceded it to the United States. Spain, with equal earnestness and persistence, maintained that her cession to France comprehended what was at that time denominated Louisiana, consisting of the island of New Orleans and the country west of the Mississippi. C. J. Marshall, in *Foster v. Neilson*, 6 *Peters*, 306, said: "Every word in that article of the treaty of St. Ildefonso which ceded Louisiana to France, was scanned by the ministers on both sides with all the critical acumen which talents and zeal could bring into their service. Every argument drawn from collateral circumstances connected with the subject, which could be supposed to elucidate it, was exhausted." Each party adhered to the original opinion and purposes. The arguments, read after fifty years have elapsed, do not, on either side, seem so conclusive as to leave no loop to hang a doubt upon. The very forcible contention of the United States, that France having ceded the province of Louisiana in full sovereignty, with all the rights which belonged to her under the treaty of 1800, the United States succeeded to those rights, was enfeebled

* *Amer. State Papers*, 567, 568, 598. The Marquis Casa Irujo, the Spanish Representative, protested against the cession as a sort of crime. I have applied through the minister of Foreign Affairs for the evidence of this secret agreement, and have been assured that it does not exist in the Archives. Besides, the cession by France was made with the full knowledge, and no objection was made until Irujo's protest. In March, 1803, the American minister in Spain was informed of the transfer of Louisiana to France, and in answer to an application made by the direction of his government, Don Pedro Cevallos stated "that by the retrocession made to France of Louisiana that power regained the province with the limits it had, saving the rights acquired by other powers; and that the United States could address themselves to the French government to negotiate the acquisition of territories which might suit their purpose." The Spanish government was apprised of the intention of the United States to negotiate for the purchase. The Spanish ambassador witnessed the progress of the negotiation at Paris, and the conclusion of the treaty was promptly known and understood in Madrid.

somewhat by the declaration of Talleyrand, that by the treaty of St. Ildefonso Spain retroceded no part of the territory east of the Iberville, which had been held and known as West Florida, and that, in all the negotiations between the two governments, Spain had constantly refused to cede any part of the Floridas, even from the Mississippi to the Mobile. In January, 1805, Mr. Monroe arrived in Madrid, having been commissioned with special authority to act in conjunction with Mr. Pinckney, and he remained over a year in the vain endeavor to effect a settlement of the matters in controversy. Coupled with the adjustment of the Louisiana boundary and other matters in dispute, was a proposition to purchase the whole of Florida for a sum of money which was designedly left indefinite. In the draft of a treaty for the accomplishment of the two principal ends and for the payment of outstanding claims, was a proposition to have, for a term of years, a neutral ground between the west of Louisiana and the Spanish territory, now known as Texas. The neutral territory was to be so limited or defined as not to deprive the United States of the waters flowing into the Gulf between the Mississippi and Colorado rivers.

The voluminous correspondence shows a strong desire on the part of the government at Washington to terminate amicably all existing differences, and to place the relations between Spain and the United States on a basis of permanent friendship. The extraordinary nature of the commission was a distinct declaration of the critical state of affairs and of the importance of the questions at issue. The United States claimed indemnification for damages done to peaceful and lawful commerce within the jurisdiction of Spain, and for the losses which accrued from the suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, as guaranteed by the treaty of 1795. A board of independent and impartial men was suggested, with authority to consider and to adjust counter-claims between the two nations. The gist of the negotiations, however, artful as may have been the attempt not to make too conspicuous, was the settlement of the western boundary of Louisiana and the acquisition of Florida. In the instructions to Mr. Monroe, April 15, 1804, he was, (1) to obtain the sanction of Spain to the late cession of Louisiana to the United States; (2) to procure the cession of territory held by Spain east of the Mississippi; and (3) to make provision for the payment of American claims.

The masterly presentation of all the points mooted by our representatives is of interest chiefly to the historical student, because the United States has now undisputed ownership of the whole coast line from St. Mary's to the Rio Grande, and no question with a foreign power, based on the old contention, can possibly arise. The cases before the Supreme

Court,* supplemented by the legislation of Congress, have settled the land contests growing out of sovereignty and ownership, which the United States anticipated and tried to prevent. In the progress of the negotiation, Rio Bravo was mentioned as a limit of Spanish, and the Colorado as the limit of American settlement. The President was very averse to the occlusion from settlement, for a long period, of a wide space of territory westward of the Mississippi, and to a perpetual relinquishment of any eastward of the Rio Bravo, and the relinquishment, if made, must be conditioned on the entire cession of the Floridas. It was *in arguendo* suggested to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney that if Spain were engaged in or threatened with war she might be more willing to yield to terms, which, however proper in themselves, "might otherwise be rejected by her pride or misapplied jealousy." In an able letter to Cevallos, our commissioners said that as the United States surrounded Florida, except where the ocean intervened, it was an object to possess it. The acquisition of Louisiana had minified the importance of the possession, but as long as Spain held it it would be a cause of jealousy and variance, for each nation would be compelled to have a strong force, and other powers would be interested in provoking a rupture. Florida being in the hands of the United States, all cause of inquietude and misunderstanding would be at an end, territories and police would be distinct, military stations would be removed from each other, and neither power would be interested in disturbing the concerns of the other.

On January 28, 1805, the commissioners submitted the project of a convention for the adjustment of claims and the cession of the Floridas. Florida was "known not to be fertile," and no land greed actuated the United States, for they had "territory enough to satisfy their growing population for ages to come." Probably this opinion, that the United States had, within their limits, what "it will take ages to fill," was caused by the fact, as stated, that "the territory on both sides of the Mississippi is yet a wilderness," and these arrangements, required by mutual interests, were important to be made "while it remained so." These sagacious men had not the vaguest conception of the boundless progress of our people, under the energy of free institutions. Reasons of safety and peace were the predominating influence for pressing the acquisitions. The "project" contained what seemed to be a favorite plan in Washington, and which, in the light of subsequent events, seems to us visionary, not to say absurd. "This was the establishment of an intervening neutral territory,

* 2 *Peters*, *Foster v. Neilson*; 6 *Peters*, *Arredondo*; 12 *Peters*, *Garcia*; 9 *Howard*, *United States v. Reynes*; 11 *Wallace*, *United States v. Lynde, &c.*

to remain such for twenty years, and give time for ulterior arrangements." The submission of the proposed convention led to a prolonged and somewhat acrimonious discussion. At intervals, notes were interchanged. The Spanish Minister of State, Don Pedro Cevallos, by tone, language, utter indisposition to accommodate the business on just principles, annoying and studied delays, became offensive to the commissioners, who although "hurt" at the treatment they received, exhibited remarkable forbearance and tact. With persistency and iteration, with repeated avowals of respect and desire for peaceful arrangement, and with a commendable abstinence from all recrimination or menace, the contention and wishes of the United States were presented. On the 12th of May, 1805, the commissioners submitted the ultimate conditions on which they were authorized to adjust the points depending between the two governments, and they are here reproduced with some fullness as illustrative of the points at issue, and the exceeding difficulties of the protracted negotiations which finally added Florida to the Union. "On condition His Catholic Majesty will concede the territory eastward of the Mississippi, and arbitrate the claims of the citizens and subjects of each power, according to the convention of August 11, 1802 (which up to this time Spain had refused to ratify), the convention will agree to make the Colorado the boundary between Louisiana and Spain, establish a district of territory of thirty leagues on each side of the line, which should remain neutral and unsettled forever, and relinquish the claim for spoliations committed by the French within the jurisdiction of Spain and the claim to compensation for injuries received by the suppression of the deposit at New Orleans." The propositions were absolutely rejected; and Mr. Monroe considering the negotiation concluded, asked and obtained his passports, that he might repair to London, where he was the resident minister. Before his departure from Madrid, he and Mr. Pinckney gave an account of their "unwearied and laborious exertions," and of the utter failure of the mission in all its objects.

The recapitulation of the history of the effort to adjust the differences has at this day, when we are quietly enjoying the fruits of this and subsequent negotiations, rather a humorous aspect. Candor, conciliation, urgency, moderation of language, patience, were met by pleas in abatement, pleas for delays, irrelevant discussions, imperious tone, exaggerated pretensions, and a general behavior that made it incumbent on commissioners to argue and protest that they were not the dupes of the management of the Spanish diplomat. Mr. Pinckney soon resigned and returned home. In these hypercritical and iconoclastic days, it has become common to disparage that eminent patriot and statesman, James Monroe. An examina-

tion of his services in Spain shows exceptional qualifications as a diplomatist: prudence, self-restraint, courtesy, dignity, tact, energy, familiarity with treaties and international law, ability in argument, devotion to his country's honor and interests, marked in a conspicuous manner his public life in this most difficult of all courts. Judge Wharton, more familiar than any other person with our diplomatic history, says in reference to negotiations with England, "that in ability, candor and fairness, Mr. Monroe's papers stand in the front rank of diplomatic documents."

The government at Washington, deeply sensible of the importance of the post at Madrid, and of the urgency of the pending questions, appointed James Bowdoin, of Boston, as minister plenipotentiary, and afterward associated General Armstrong in a special mission respecting these delicate Spanish controversies. The object of the United States in reference to the Floridas was clearly made known to them, and equally as explicitly to George W. Erving, who, as secretary of legation, in the absence of his chief, became *chargé d'affaires*. Mr. Erving remained in Spain until August, 1810, when he returned to the United States. From the withdrawal of Monroe and Pinckney to the arrival of Mr. Erving, in July, 1816, as minister, scarcely anything of a diplomatic character was accomplished between the two countries. The distracted state of Spain, the internal convulsions, and wars with other countries, made it impossible to accomplish anything in the two chief matters entrusted to our representatives. The hostilities between Great Britain and Spain were concluded by the treaty of peace, amity and alliance of January 14, 1809, when the two belligerents became allies against France, a common enemy, and there ensued that famous peninsular campaign of Wellington, wherein he out-manoeuvred and defeated Napoleon's best marshals, and the more remarkable guerilla contests—a mode of warfare borrowed from the Moors—in which the skill and experience of the best trained officers and soldiers of France found more than a match in the desultory warfare of the indomitable Spaniards. The prosecution of campaigns required all resources, physical and intellectual. A struggle for dynasty and existence left little leisure or inclination for Transatlantic questions. There could have been no more unpropitious period for calm discussion and parting with territory. Besides, Spain was doubly irritated, the United States having been compelled to occupy Florida. This forcible seizure grew out of the claims for spoliations, the inability of Spain to maintain her authority in Florida and repress depredations and insurrections, and the intrusive occupation by Great Britain of Pensacola and other portions of the province. The shifting events in Europe made the passing of Florida into the possession of another power

not improbable, and it became imperative to seize and hold the country, subject to future and friendly negotiation.

In 1814, Mr. Anthony Morris, who had authority to receive "informal communications" from the Spanish government, expressed the opinion that East and West Florida could be purchased. He intimated that ten thousand dollars for *douceurs* would be "indispensable," as the different departments of the Spanish government were not sufficiently "regenerated" to allow great hopes of success without the use of means of this description. This suggestion elicited no consideration nor reply. In 1816, January 19, on the renewal of the suspended diplomatic relations, Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of State, suggested to Chevalier de Ouis that it furnished a proper occasion for the consideration of the differences in relation to the purchase of Louisiana and the contested limits. In March, 1816, Mr. Monroe informed Mr. Erving that Ouis had intimated that the Spanish government might be willing to cede its claim to territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, in satisfaction of claims, and in exchange for territory on the western side. The United States proposed to accept a cession of Florida as a basis of the release of claims held by citizens of the United States against Spain, and offered at the same time by way of compromise to take the Colorado River as the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, although it had been previously maintained that that purchase extended to the Rio Grande. Mr. Monroe and Mr. J. Q. Adams held very strongly that the Rio Grande was the true southwestern boundary. Mr. Ouis declared these propositions inadmissible, went into elaborate repetitions of the discussions of 1802-1805, and demanded restoration of places occupied by federal troops. On July 19, 1818, Don José Pizarro, writing to Mr. Erving, said: "In one of our late conferences I had the honor to state to you anew His Majesty's readiness to cede both of the Floridas to the United States . . . in consideration of a suitable equivalent to be made to His Majesty in a district of territory situated to the westward of the Mississippi." In July and August, Mr. Erving, replying to the Spanish Minister of State, refers to "His Majesty's disposition to cede his possessions to the east of the Mississippi for a reasonable equivalent," and suggests instead of the guaranty of Spanish territory by the United States—a thing which could not be done—a better guaranty in the form of "a desert," or unoccupied, uninhabited tract of thirty leagues on the Colorado, extending up to 32° north latitude, as "a barrier between the possessions" of the two countries. Negotiations between the two countries were suspended, by formal notice, until satisfaction should be made for the proceedings of General Jackson in Florida, which

His Catholic Majesty denounced as outrages upon his dignity and honor, and for which he demanded apology and indemnity. John Quincy Adams, in papers which are an enduring monument to his patriotism and ability, "carried the war into Africa," and charged and proved that it was "to the conduct of her own commanding officers that Spain must impute the necessity under which General Jackson found himself of occupying the places of their command." "The horrible combination of robbery, murder, and war, with which the frontier of the United States bordering upon Florida, has for several years past been visited, is ascribable altogether to the total and lamentable failure of Spain to fulfill the 5th article of the treaty of 1795, by which she stipulated to restrain, by force, her Indians from hostilities against the citizens of the United States." "Had the engagements of Spain been fulfilled, the United States would have had no Seminole war." Far from indemnifying the crown of Spain for losses sustained, the American minister at Madrid was instructed that the crown of Spain should indemnify the United States for the expenses of a war which Spain was bound to prevent.

It is difficult to realize the vexatious vicissitudes which attended this long-drawn-out negotiation. In course of time it at last became apparent, even to Spain, that Florida must come under the sovereignty of the United States. The idea of its transference to another foreign power was not to be tolerated for a moment. Its continued retention by Spain, remote, proud, sensitive, jealous, involved in foreign wars and chronic internal turmoils, would generate ceaseless trouble and necessitate quasi-belligerent forces on the border. Indian incursions and depredations, unprevented by Spanish authorities, made it imperative to cross the line in pursuit, and for the punishment of the savages. "Masterly inactivity," a phrase borrowed by Mr. Calhoun, in his Mexican war speeches, from Sir James McIntosh, was too feeble a policy. The vigilance of Erving and other ministers was unceasing. Efforts to purchase were thwarted. Negotiations were begun and suspended. Procrastination was pursued under specific instructions to that end. The patience and forbearance and moderation of the United States had been wonderful. Even Mr. Adams restrained largely his irritability of temper and vitriolism of pen; but this patient submission was manifestly nearing an end. Mr. Ouis, seeing that procrastination as a game and a policy was exhausted, sent on October 24, 1818, to Mr. Adams, a proposition to cede all the property and sovereignty possessed by Spain in and over the Floridas, under certain conditions. The conditions were promptly rejected; a "final offer" on the part of the United States was made; matters grew worse, and belligerent

measures seemed imminent. Mr. Adams, October 31, 1818, used this significant language: "The President is deeply penetrated with the conviction that further protracted discussion . . . cannot terminate in a manner satisfactory to our governments. From your answer to this letter he must conclude whether a final adjustment of all our differences is now to be accomplished, or whether all hope of such a desirable result is, on the part of the United States, to be abandoned." After some letters, showing a wide divergence of views, on January 11, 1819, Mr. Ouis announced that by a courier extraordinary from his government he was authorized to give a greater extent to his proposals. On the 9th he submitted his *projet*, and Mr. Adams on the 13th responded by a counter *projet*. At this point Mr. Hyde de Meville, the French Minister, at the request of Mr. Ouis, "confinèd by indisposition," had an interview with Mr. Adams and a full and free discussion of the two *projets*. Explanations and modifications were made, and on February 22, 1819, was signed in Washington "a Treaty of Amity, Settlement and Limits," which provided for the cession of Florida and "the reciprocal renunciation of certain claims as adjusted by a joint commission." The commissioner had power to decide conclusively upon the amount and validity of claims, but not upon the conflicting rights of parties to the sums awarded by them. *Comegys v. Vasse*, 1 *Peters*, 193. The spoliation claims held by the United States against Spain were renounced, and the United States undertook to make satisfaction for the same to the amount of five millions of dollars.

The Rio Grande contention was given up, a majority of the Cabinet overruling Mr. Adams, and holding that the immediate acquisition of Florida was too important to be jeopardized, or "clogged by debatable demands for territory to the south-west." The intervening neutral territory, the uninhabited desert, the impassable barrier between the two countries, which, for so many years and so often was proposed and relied upon to prevent conflict of jurisdiction and of people, seems to have been quietly ignored. The Louisiana boundary was settled by following the Sabine, Red and Arkansas rivers as far westward as the 42° north latitude and pursuing that degree to the Pacific Ocean.* In settling disputed boundaries, and, in fact, in making this treaty, the United States did not assent to the claim of sovereignty or ownership over the territory between the Mississippi and the Perdido. Both legislative and executive departments of the government, prior to 1819, treated territory west of the Perdido as

* The conflicting claim of title to territory between Texas and the United States, see President's Proclamation of December 30, 1887, grows out of the terms of this fixing the boundary line between the two countries.

part of the territory acquired from France in 1803, and in *Pollard v. Files*, the Supreme Court declared as the settled doctrine of the judicial department of the government that the treaty of 1819 ceded no territory west of the Perdido River.*

The United States exonerated Spain from all demands in the future on account of the claims of her citizens, and undertook to make satisfaction for the same to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. It is commonly stated that the United States purchased Florida for that sum of money. In the negotiation the Spanish minister objected to the article stipulating for the payment, on the ground that it would appear from it that in consideration of that amount Spain had ceded the two Floridas and other territories, when she would not have ceded them for \$20,000,000 but for her desire to arrange and terminate all differences with the United States.† In 1805, Monroe and Pinckney, in their proposal to the Spanish government for the cession of Florida, said that Florida was not valuable for its land, and suggested that the sum paid "for the whole of the province of Louisiana furnished a just and suitable standard" as to what would be proper in paying for Florida. The area of Florida is 56,680 square miles, and Mr. Jefferson paid \$15,000,000 for all the country west of the Mississippi not occupied by Spain, as far north as the British territory, and comprising, wholly or in part, the present states of Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Colorado and the Indian Territory and the territories of Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Wyoming.

The treaty submitted to the Senate on the day it was signed, was at once unanimously ratified, thus giving additional lustre to the birthday of Washington. Before the adjournment of Congress acts were passed authorizing the establishing of local governments over the acquired territory. John Forsyth, of Georgia, was appointed minister to Spain, and he carried with him a copy of the treaty and minute instructions as to the exchange of ratifications.‡ So confident was the government of early action, the *Hornet*, which carried Mr. Forsyth, was ordered to remain at Cadiz a sufficient length of time to carry back the ratified copy. So anxious and so certain

* 2 *Howard*, 591; *Foster v. Neilson*, 2 *Peters*, 253; *Garcia v. Lee*, 2 *Id.*, 515.

† In a memoir on the negotiation, published by Ouis in 1820, he sought to show that the treaty of cession ought to be considered as a treaty of exchange of Florida for Texas, a country more extensive, fertile and valuable.

‡ Mr. Forsyth was instructed to preserve the right of the United States to the *alternative* of being first named and of the representative to sign first. In the counterpart, the other nation has the like privilege. In 1815, Great Britain claimed as a precedent a previous waiver of this international practice by the United States, but it was withdrawn.

of speedy assent were the authorities at Washington, instructions were sent to Mr. Erving that it might be expedient for him to exchange the ratifications, if by any accident the formal reception of Forsyth should be delayed "beyond a very few days." Fearing the absence of Mr. Erving, on account of the infirm state of his health, or the non-arrival of Mr. Forsyth, a special messenger, with duplicate copies of treaty and instructions, was sent to Mr. Thomas L. L. Brent, the Secretary of Legation, so that he might exchange the ratifications. After this twenty years of negotiation it was supposed that the trouble was ended, but he who measures a Spaniard by the ordinary standard will find himself, in the end, grievously disappointed.

Long experience has been condensed into a popular proverb, *Del dicho al hecho va mucho trecho*. From the saying to the doing is a great distance. The *Hornet* returned in the summer, not with the ratification but with recriminatory dispatches because of the unexpected and inexcusable delay. Spain did not give her assent. She offered various evasive excuses and pretexts. She might promptly have disavowed the treaty as in excess of her instructions. She did not. She consented to the negotiations. She knew what had been done, and seven months passed before she uttered a word of complaint. When it became known that Spain refused to confirm the contract and interposed frivolous excuses for her conduct, much indignation was aroused, and harsh measures had advocacy in the press and in Congress. It was well said the cession was no new thing, and that the agreement, from preliminary steps to final consummation, was as well known in Madrid as in Washington, at least so far as substance was concerned. President Monroe said in his message that Spain had formed a relation between the two countries which would justify any measures on the part of the United States which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation might dictate. Adams contended that Spain was under obligations of honor and good faith, and in a letter to the chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina—author of the phrase, "I had rather be right than be President"—asserted the "perfect right" of the government to compel a specific performance of the engagement and secure indemnity for the expenses and damages which grew out of the refusal of Spain to ratify. Intemperance of language and proposal was met by wise counsel, and the proposed immediate military occupation was defeated. After weary years of patience and of earnest effort to avoid war, very fortunately the country was not precipitated into it by the hot heads and Hotspurs. It was well determined to await the logic of events, and not hazard the gaining of what must surely, like ripe fruit, fall into our hands. General Jackson once said,

"Geography controls my politics," and so the geographical position of Florida made it inevitably a part of the Union. Count Aranda, when he was Prime Minister of Spain, as far back as 1783, distinctly foresaw and acknowledged the necessity of the acquisition.

The irritation felt at the repudiation of a solemn international compact excited general attention, and it was felt that a war might produce grave international complications and transfer not only Florida but Cuba and Texas also to the United States. France and Great Britain remonstrated with Spain, and she realized that the temporizing and procrastinating policy must give way to positive and definite action. On the 24th of October, 1820, the Cortes having previously authorized and advised, the king, Ferdinand VII., approved and ratified the treaty. Such was the slowness of communication in those days, that four months elapsed before the ratification was known in Washington. (I have received instructions from the State Department by post in eleven days.) The time fixed for joint ratification, six months, having expired, the treaty was re-submitted to the Senate and ratified a second time, 19th February, 1821. On the 22d—again connecting the hallowed day with Florida—the House of Representatives gave their assent to the necessary legislation.

Thus an acquisition long sought for, essential to our internal quiet and to save us from foreign intermeddlings, strifes and conspiracies, was consummated. For nearly a quarter of a century the negotiations were pursued in Spain or in Washington—sometimes interrupted by fretful suspension of diplomatic intercourse, by the revolutionary disturbances in Spain, by English and French wars, by Spanish tenacity for American possessions, and the incurable propensity not to do to-day what can be deferred until to-morrow. No one can read the correspondence in full without a high appreciation of the patriotism and ability of Madison, Monroe, Pinckney, Adams, and Erving. Their state papers show patience, forbearance, courtesy, dignity, tact, power of argument, familiarity with international jurisprudence, and intense loyalty to our institutions. It is not easy to comprehend the disadvantages under which our able negotiators labored in the earlier periods of our history, when our rights as a member of the family of nations were ignored or grudgingly conceded. The credit of the Florida success is enhanced when we consider the personal and national characteristics of the Spaniards. With unquestioned courage, chivalry, scrupulous observance of etiquette, they are vain, proud, sensitive, distrustful of foreigners, obstinate in their opinions, and possessed of a most patience-wearing disposition to procrastinate. The stoical fatalism of the Moor seems in some of its forms to have been bequeathed to his conqueror.

This protracted negotiation is a noble tribute to American diplomacy. The general public sees the external work, the final result, the actors in the last scene of the historic drama, and is ignorant or unobservant of the quiet secretary or minister, in his office, at official interviews, in social intercourse, watching for opportunities, seizing propitious occasions, removing prejudices, presenting arguments in every possible aspect and removing Protean objections. It is he who prepares for the ultimate victory. George W. Erving, far away in Madrid, did more to acquire Florida than every Senator who voted to ratify the treaty. It is a pleasant reflection and honoring to our country and civilization that although often on the rugged edge of war, yet, without a drop of blood the question was settled, boundaries were determined, conflicting claims were adjusted, and a large territory was added to our national domain.

J. S. M. Erving

MADRID, SPAIN.

BETWEEN ALBANY AND BUFFALO

EARLY METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION AND TRAVEL

The highways of a nation are, to a certain extent, an index of its progress and civilization. "Of all inventions," says Macaulay, "the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species." Barbarism knows nothing of "rapid transit." It uses what nature has furnished, or what the rudest art can make—the water course or the footpath. Barbarism is isolated and stagnant. Its commerce is undeveloped; its social life is primitive. Its only need is a rude path for the hunt or for war, and this it finds at random through the forest. But civilization requires interchange between man and man. Colonization leads the way and makes new settlements far from the old centers. Commerce follows in its train, and trade demands a safe and measurably rapid means of transit. The demands of wealth, pleasure, travel, encourage improvements in the methods of transportation, until the rude foot-path of the savage is exchanged for the N. Y. C. R. R., with its "vestibuled flyer."

Macaulay has given us an account of the English roads in 1685: "They were worse than might have been expected from the degree of wealth and civilization which the nation had then attained." Even on the best lines the ruts were deep, the descents precipitous, and the way hardly distinguishable, in the dusk, from the heath or fen on either side. It was only in fine weather that the whole breadth of the road was available for wheeled vehicles. Often the mud lay deep on the right and left, and only a narrow track of firm ground rose above the quagmire. Almost every day coaches stuck fast, until a team of cattle could be procured to tug them out. On the roads of Derbyshire travelers were in constant fear of their necks, and were frequently compelled to alight and lead their beasts. In some parts of Kent and Sussex none but the strongest horses could, in winter, get through the bog, in which, at every step, they sank deep. Such a state of things was in keeping with a period when there was not a daily newspaper in the kingdom; when the country gentleman was almost a savage, and when the clergyman was often hostler, gardener, or errand boy, and was generally expected to marry the cook. The English roads of a century later had been wonderfully developed, and the great stage lines,

radiating from London, reached every part of the kingdom. As an illustration of the perfection of the roads and the accuracy of the system, the case is recorded of two mails, in opposite directions, north and south, starting at the same minute from points six hundred miles apart, and meeting almost uniformly at a particular bridge which bisected the whole distance. The Roman roads reached a higher degree of durability and perfection than any public roads before or since. These great highways, radiating from Rome, extended to the very limits of the empire. They were marked off with mile-stones; post-houses were erected at short intervals with relays of horses; and, by the use of these, one hundred miles could be traversed in a day. Tiberius, on one occasion, traveled two hundred miles in twenty-four hours; and a letter could be sent from Britain to Rome in twenty days.

In speaking of early methods of travel in the valley of the Mohawk, we shall touch upon matters which are, for the most part, prosaic, and yet have a curious and somewhat antiquarian interest connected with them. At times an air of poetry and romance is thrown about these scenes. Much of the life and spirit of the times have been lost, since few have transmitted with detail their personal experiences. But the meeting of parties going to and fro; the moonlight rides upon the packet boat; the passing of the boats and stages; the constant feeling of surprise and expectancy in a new country; the intermingling of travelers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, at the wayside inn; these, and a score of other experiences, gave to the old methods of travel a keen enjoyment which our modern way of rushing through the country has entirely lost. "The modern methods of traveling," says De Quincey, "cannot compare with the old mail-coach system in grandeur and power. Tidings fit to convulse all nations must henceforward travel by culinary process, and the trumpet that once announced from afar the laureled mail, heart-shaking when heard screaming on the wind and proclaiming itself through the darkness to every village and solitary house on its route, has now given way to the pot-walloppings of the boiler."

Following the example of all right-minded historians, whether ecclesiastical or profane, we may divide the discussion of this subject into *Ancient*, *Medieval* and *Modern* methods of travel. The *Modern* method—that of the locomotive—we shall dismiss at once with a portion of De Quincey's contempt, as being altogether out of keeping with the character and aims of an historical magazine. The batteau, the canal boat, and the stage coach shall be our theme.

The natural facilities for inland navigation afforded by the lake and

river systems of the state of New York, were early made use of by the Iroquois, and were early observed by the French and English.

In 1738 Mr. Colden, the surveyor-general, in reporting to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke his observations on the province of New York, says: "The province of New York has for the conveniency of commerce advantages by its situation beyond any other colony in North America." He then points out the natural and easy water communications between New York city and Lake Ontario, thus making it possible for commerce to be carried from New York through a vast tract of western country more easily than from any other maritime city in North America. In 1783 General Washington sailed up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler, and crossed over into Wood Creek; and he, as a Virginian, noticed with surprise and even with some apprehension, the wonderful facilities for inland navigation in this state. The route from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, was through the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, and the Oswego River. There was a portage of fifteen miles from Albany to Schenectady; a second portage of some distance at Little Falls; and a third, variously estimated at from one to three miles, from the head of navigation on the Mohawk, to Wood Creek. The Mohawk was, on the whole, a navigable stream, though from various rapids, and the scarcity of water, navigation was at times difficult, and the portage at Little Falls was a serious obstacle. Wood Creek was a narrow, winding stream, and often almost impassable on account of fallen trees. Even at low water, however it would allow an ordinary batteau load of fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds. Oneida Lake was of course navigable at all times unless there was a strong contrary wind

In 1785 the legislature appropriated the munificent sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$125.00) to enable Mr. Christopher Colles to make an essay towards removing certain obstructions in the Mohawk River. In August, 1792, a committee was appointed by the directors of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company to examine into the state of the Mohawk from Schenectady to Fort Schuyler. This company aimed only at improving the natural water courses, and opening communication by canals to Seneca Lake and Lake Ontario.

The committee reported that measures must be taken to clear and deepen in certain places the bed of the Mohawk, and also Wood Creek; that a canal with locks should be made at Little Falls; and also a canal cut from the Mohawk to Wood Creek. The entire length of the canals proposed was but a few miles; yet the work was regarded as so formidable that fifteen years were allowed the company for its completion. In about

five years from the survey the work was nearly finished ; but the charges for toll were so heavy that " the canals were but little used—the land carriage and the natural rivers being generally preferred." More than \$400,000 had been expended on these improvements ; the number of boats upon the river was comparatively small, and the toll at the locks at Little Falls was necessarily high. In making this ascent, " each ton of merchandise paid a toll of \$2.25, besides a toll of from \$1.50 to \$2.62½ on each boat."

The farmers still continued to carry their provisions by land. Each team could draw about one hundred bushels, and these wagons going back empty were glad to carry freight as cheap or cheaper than the terms offered by the boats. A writer in 1807 urges that the great object of the company should be to reduce the tolls, increase the number of boats, and so divert the traffic from the land to the river. Over the portage of fifteen miles from Albany to Schenectady, the charge for freight was sixteen cents per hundred weight. From Schenectady to Utica—a distance of one hundred and four miles by water—the charge was seventy-five cents per hundred weight, either by land or water.

A traveler on the Mohawk in 1807 has left us some account of the mode of travel. There were three kinds of boats in use : one, called the Schenectady boat, forty or fifty feet long ; a second, commonly called a Dorem or Dorm (probably Durham) larger and stronger than the former and sharp at both ends ; and a third kind called " flats," which the writer does not more particularly describe. On all of these boats sails were spread when the wind was favorable. The Schenectady boats were preferred. They would carry ten tons when the river was high, but in the summer months not more than three or four tons. They could make from eighteen to twenty or twenty-five miles a day against the stream. They were steered by a large swing oar—as long as the boat—and had a movable mast in the middle on which a square-sail and a top-sail could be set. The *Mohawk Regulator*, on which our friend was cruising westward, could make six miles an hour against the stream ; and " during this time, believe me," he says, " nothing can be more charming than sailing on the Mohawk." But so sinuous was the course of the stream that it was seldom the wind would hold fair for more than three or four miles, and for their progress up the river they were mainly dependent upon pike-poles. These were from eighteen to twenty-two feet in length, armed with an iron spike in one end, and having at the other a large knob or button, on which the boatman could rest his shoulder and push with all his force. A plank with cross cleats ran the whole length of the boat on either side. Four pike-men were sta-

tioned on each side, and fixing their pikes firmly in the bottom of the river, placing the button against the shoulder, and falling down on "all fours," they could drive the boat forward with considerable speed. Though the river was shallow, there was no danger in ascending it, as progress was at the best slow, and at low water it was necessary to drag the boat over many places by hand. But in the descent there was some risk of staving the boat upon rocks or snags. At some places the channel was not more than eight feet in width, so as hardly to allow the passage of a boat without rubbing. This narrowing of the channel was sometimes natural and sometimes artificial.

The artificial deepening of the channel had been suggested in the report of the committee of 1792. Two ridges or walls of stone were built, converging down the stream to an acute angle; and the water, crowded into this narrowing channel, increased in depth several inches. Where it had not been more than eight inches, it rose to twelve, "and strange as it may appear," says the writer, "a boat drawing 15 inches will pass through it with safety and ease." On their approach to Utica during a violent storm, an unexpected danger was suggested by the falling of a large tree into the Mohawk, just opposite the boat, "so that though drowning," he says, "is scarcely possible on the Mohawk, there is some risk of being dashed to pieces by the falling of trees which overhang the banks."

Mrs. Grant was one of the first white women who ever traveled westward through the valley of the Mohawk. This was probably as early as 1750. There were no roads worthy of the name. The party proceeded up the Mohawk in batteaux, and spent the first night with the famous Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem, who had visited England with Colonel Schuyler in 1710. The traveler was then only a child, full of romance and love of adventure. "Never," she says, "was a journey so replete with felicity." The wildness and novelty of the scenery charmed her romantic imagination. Wood Creek they found almost blocked up with fallen trees. The light canoes were lifted over; but for the heavy batteaux nothing remained but to cut a way through with the axe; and such was the delay that they were three days in going fourteen miles. The profound solitude, the nights, passed in some instances upon the river bank; the trees laden with rich foliage, and with nuts which she liked to gather, kept the young girl in a state of excitement and delight; and it was only the occasional chorus of wolves, to which the bull-frogs roared a tremendous accompaniment, that made her in after years recall portions of the journey with a feeling of terror.

As early as 1757 we have an account of the facilities for land travel

westward from Albany. From Albany to Schenectady—six or seven leagues—the road was excellent for all sorts of carriages. The soil was sandy, and the country covered with open timber. Four miles from Albany there was a house which served as a tavern, and five miles farther west another of the same description. From Schenectady to Fort Hunter—seven leagues—the public carriage-way continued along the south bank of the Mohawk, with twenty or thirty houses scattered along the road. From Fort Hunter to Canajoharie (twelve leagues) the road was tolerably good, so that carriages could pass over it. Between Canajoharie and Fort Kouari (German Flats) a distance of four leagues—the road passed over what the writer calls “a mountain,” which it required two hours to pass. From Fort Kouari to Fort Williams, at the head of navigation on the Mohawk, was counted twelve leagues. The first twenty-four miles of the distance could be easily traversed by carts. The remaining twelve miles was serviceable for sleds in winter, and for a horseman at all times, though in some places the mud was almost bottomless. About twenty-two miles east of Fort Williams, the road, as one came from the west, forked, and the northern arm led by a ford over the Mohawk, to the Palatine village. So much for the road south of the Mohawk from Schenectady to Fort Williams. The same journey could also be made on the north bank. Leaving Fort Williams the road for twenty-two miles was passable only on foot or horseback. At this point the foot path joined the north fork of the road from the opposite side of the river, and this was passable for all sorts of vehicles to the Palatine village, and apparently also to Little Falls. Here there was a road for the portage on either side of the river, but that on the north side was the better. From the eastern end of the portage at Little Falls to west Canada Creek, there was only a foot path, which was difficult even for a horseman. After fording the creek, the road was passable for wagons for a distance of thirty miles, to the residence of Colonel Johnson. From Colonel Johnson’s house to Schenectady was reckoned seven leagues. The road was good, and all sorts of vehicles could pass over it.

The next traveler whom I find in this region is Elkanah Watson, in 1788. Starting probably from Albany, on the second evening he reached “the miserable tavern of Col. Starling, six miles from old Ft. Schuyler.” From Colonel Starling’s to the river, the roads were almost impassable, and he was three hours in riding six miles. From Fort Schuyler to Whitesborough, the road was “as bad as possible; broken bridges, stumps, and my horse at every step knee-deep.” In 1791 Mr. Watson again left Albany for the West. He traversed a pine barren sixteen miles, to Schenectady.

Considering the size of Albany and Schenectady, and that this road had been for one hundred and seventy years the only channel of communication between them, he thought "its present shameful state a matter of regret and astonishment." It merely followed the old Indian foot path, whereas the nature of the ground would admit of a spacious turnpike. From Schenectady they dispatched two batteaux, with six men and ample provisions, up the river, while they proceeded on land, to meet the batteaux at Herkimer. Between Schenectady and Johnstown, he found an infamous carriage road; bridges not only in a ruinous state, but absolutely dangerous. "The present road system," he says, "is a disgrace to this fine state. We were driven by a stupid fellow, sometimes rattling us over stones and rocks, as if the devil was at our heels; and then creeping along over a level road, as if going to a funeral." "Such, oh man," ejaculates Mr. Watson, "is the perverseness of thy nature!" Near Fort Herkimer they joined the batteaux, and then, with the use of oars and pike-poles, proceeded at the rate of three miles an hour. From Fort Schuyler an Indian road was being opened to the Genesee country. Leaving Fort Schuyler, both the Mohawk and Wood Creek were found almost impassable from the trees which the new settlers had cut and allowed to fall into the stream.

A traveler who left Albany in 1792 found the road as far as Whites-town passable for wagons; but could not prevail upon the driver of his sled to go beyond this point. From Whitestown to the Genesee River the road was little better than an Indian path, barely opened enough to allow a sled to pass. A new sled was hired, but they were obliged to carry along provisions for man and beast and blankets as a substitute for beds. In 1797 the legislature undertook the improvement of the road from Fort Schuyler to Geneva. A lottery had been granted for the opening and improvement of various roads, and among them this road was included. The people along the line subscribed four thousand days' work. The distance was nearly one hundred miles. The road was made sixty-four feet wide, and through the low and wet parts of the country it was paved with logs and gravel; and though in June, 1797, it had been little better than an Indian path, it was so much improved that on the 30th of September a stage started from Fort Schuyler with four passengers, and reached the hotel at Geneva in the afternoon of the third day. In the winter of 1798 two stages, one of them carrying the mail, ran each week from Geneva and Canandaigua to Albany. A writer in 1799, in giving directions for the benefit of those wishing to go to the Genesee country, says: "They will with ease reach Albany by water, and from thence they can either hire

wagons, or take navigation by the Mohawk and canals to Geneva. Unless the water be in good order, I should certainly prefer the land journey. A wagon with two oxen and two horses will go 20 miles per day with a load of 30 hundred weight. The accommodations by the state road will be found very good."

To a mind intelligent and able to appreciate the beauties of nature, a ride through the Mohawk valley, even at this early day, must have afforded a rich and varied enjoyment. Such a traveler was President Dwight, who made his memorable journey to Whitestown in September, 1799. The ranges of hills on either side of the valley were crowned with forests; the river was almost always in view—"a sprightly, noble stream." "Its waters," he says, "are always delightful, and often ornamented with elegant islands." The low lands on either side were rich and handsome. Dr. Dwight found the condition of the roads, however, very far from what could be desired. Many of the bridges were so much out of repair as to alarm the good dominie. "The road on the lowlands," he says, "is good in dry weather; but in wet, muddy and extremely disagreeable. On the hills it was indifferent, but perhaps as good as could be expected in a country so recently settled." But when we find that Dr. Dwight left Schenectady on September 22d and spent the night of the 23d in Utica, we must admit that the rate at which he traveled was creditable both to the road and to his horse. He says that a turnpike was begun between Utica and New Hartford, and was considerably advanced. From Utica to Lairds, the soil was such that in the moist season the roads were a mass of mud, and in the wet season intolerable. "Traveling," he says, "is not merely uncomfortable, and discouraging, but an herculean labor." It had rained for a fortnight, and for the last thirty miles before reaching Utica the horses could only walk. Travelers from the West, who met them at Lairds, reported the mud deeper than it had ever been known. Their horses were drenched in the mire to the hips and shoulders, and the riders were pale and broken-spirited with excessive fatigue. "To have continued a journey of pleasure in such circumstances," says the worthy Doctor, "would have been madness"—in which sentiment we heartily concur.

The whole valley of the Mohawk was also rich with scenes of natural and historic interest. The stately residence of Sir William Johnson, the great boiling pot at Canajoharie, the picturesque scenery of Little Falls; these and other points, demanded the attention of the tourist. The whole course of the river abounded in legends and traditions, quite equal to those of the Hudson. Stories of massacre, of treachery, of revenge, of courage, were rehearsed to the traveler by eye-witnesses or participants; so that a

student of nature, or man, or history, could hardly have found a journey along the Mohawk, even in 1799, tedious or uninteresting.

The great Genesee road, as it was called, began at Utica. We are told that the inhabitants of Utica subscribed to finish the first mile. They formed twenty shares of fifty dollars each (the estimated cost was one thousand dollars per mile) and these shares they afterward sold at forty-four cents on the dollar. In 1801, we find notice of a law to the effect that in all cases of carriages and sleighs meeting west of Schenectady on the great roads running east and west on either side of the Mohawk, and from the village of Utica to the town of Canandaigua, the carriages or sleighs going west should give way to those going east, under penalty of three dollars.

In 1804 we are told that a turnpike road is completed from Albany to Canandaigua at great expense, which is discharged by tolls, and renders traveling and carriage of produce much easier when the rivers are not navigable. Wagons frequently carried loads of fourteen barrels of flour to Albany and returned with an equal weight, and sometimes carried two tons, going and returning in fourteen days.

In 1804 we find Dr. Dwight once more mounted on his clerical steed, with his face set resolutely toward the west. His previous journey to Whitestown had not discouraged him; the roads had improved in the interval of five years, and this time he shall be our guide, if we have the courage to follow him as far as Niagara. Let us join him at Manlius, at which point, coming from the south, he struck the "*Great Western Turnpike*." "Here," he says, "our traveling inconveniences chiefly vanished." The road was excellent, and the surface smooth. The whole appearance of the country was improving. Fruit-trees abounded, among them, the peach, growing and bearing luxuriantly. Along this road, as far as Canandaigua, houses and settlements were scattered. Many of the houses were neat and some handsome. As a whole they exceeded Dr. Dwight's most sanguine expectations. At Marcellus he attended church on September 20, in a snow storm which covered the ground to the depth of more than an inch. At Cayuga Bridge he found a settlement of a dozen houses—three of them very good. But the most conspicuous object was the bridge itself—a structure, which, in view of the newness of the settlement, he thinks may justly be styled "a stupendous erection." It was the longest bridge in the United States, was the property of a Mr. Swartwout of New York, and cost twenty thousand dollars. The toll for a man and horse was twenty-five cents—a charge which, considering the capital invested and the amount of traveling, the good dominie thought rather exorbitant.

Dr. Dwight observed carefully and describes at length the country through which he passed—its forests, streams, lakes, hamlets, the character of its soil and population—but his narrative is somewhat meager as regards those facts for which we are now particularly looking. For considerable intervals we are left in ignorance as to how he was lodged and fed, and how he found the roads. A mile and a half beyond the Genesee he found a small inn, where he dined on bread and butter with cheese, in the open air, as the hostess was laudably employed in scrubbing the only room in the house. Fifteen miles farther on, the roads were horrible. Stumps and roots innumerable made the traveling dangerous. The mud was knee-deep, and so stiff that the horse could barely extricate himself. The road was a narrow passage, newly cut through the forest. After groping and struggling for three hours over a distance of four miles, he reached his inn—a log-house—where he was kindly and comfortably entertained.

At Batavia Dr. Dwight was confronted with a problem which taxed his powers of judgment as well as his mathematical faculties. There were two roads to Buffalo Creek—one eighteen miles in length with thirteen miles of mud—the other twenty-three miles in length with nine miles of mud. To balance the relative amount of mud against the relative number of miles was a nice task. But as against mud, distance carried the day, and Dr. Dwight toiled and floundered over the longer road. He dined at Dunham's, five miles beyond Batavia. They reached Vande Vender's at sunset, but could not get in, as the house was full. Eight miles farther on in a pouring rain brought them to Munger's, where there was absolutely nothing to eat. A good-natured wagoner, on his way to Upper Canada relieved their distress by furnishing the "inn-keeper" some flour—when, presto!—as if by magic, there was promptly furnished "a good cup of hyson tea, with loaf sugar, cream, and excellent hot biscuit and butter." At two o'clock the next day, after floundering through bogs and among stumps, they reached Buffalo. Munger's hostelry was evidently not equipped on a princely scale, for on Dr. Dwight's return he found the larder in the same impoverished condition. Again there was neither bread nor flour, and they were obliged to sup on "sipawn"—or hasty pudding. Dr. Dwight made his return journey on horseback as far as Manlius. A little east of Manlius he took the stage. There were seven passengers packed in a crazy vehicle which constantly threatened to break down. Incessant rain had made the roads a mass of mire, and the horses were obliged to walk, or rather wade, at the rate of two miles an hour. They took supper at Vernon, at "Young's tavern," and then pushed on to Utica, to catch the Albany stage the next morning. One o'clock in the

morning found them at Laird's, where the family rose good-naturedly and furnished them refreshments. From New Hartford the road was better, and they reached Utica, half frozen, just before five o'clock, A.M. They had been seventeen hours in covering the forty-one miles between Manlius and Utica. But we have seen enough and too much of western travel in the year 1804.

In this same year (1803 or 1804) Gouverneur Morris is credited with having made the first suggestion of a canal across the state from Lake Erie to the Hudson River. In 1811 certain commissioners, appointed by joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly to explore the route of inland navigation from the Hudson to the lakes, reported that "experience has long since exploded in Europe the idea of using the beds of rivers for internal navigation, where canals are practicable. In the navigation of rivers, reliance must be had principally on the labor of men; whereas along canals, the force employed is generally that of horses. But the labor of men is dearer and the subsistence of horses cheaper in America than in Europe. Experience, moreover, has, in this country declared against following the course of rivers, more decidedly than in the old world; for there, notwithstanding the excellence of the highways, transportation is often performed by boats drawn up the river; but along the Mohawk, though the road from Schenectady to Utica is far from being good, it is frequently preferred to the river."

On the 4th of July, 1817, the work of excavating the Erie canal was begun; October 23, 1819, the commissioners navigated it from Utica to Rome, and in 1825, Clinton's big ditch was completed, and the waters of Lake Erie mingled with those of the Hudson. On the 22d of October, 1819, the first boat sailed on the Erie canal from Rome to Utica. It was dragged by a single horse trotting on the embankment in the tow-path. It was an elegant boat, constructed to carry passengers, and called the "Chief Engineer"—a compliment to Benjamin Wright, Esq. At nine o'clock the next morning the bells were rung and the commissioners proceeded in carriages from Bagg's Hotel to the place of embarkation. A military band played patriotic airs. From bridge to bridge, from village to village, the excursionists were saluted with cannon and the ringing of bells. The people ran across the fields, climbed trees and fences, and crowded the bank of the canal, to see the wonderful sight. In forty minutes they reached Whitesborough, where a party of ladies came on board. The scene was one of great festivity and rejoicing. In the language of a spectator, it was "truly sublime."

The packet was regarded, by many, as furnishing all that could be

desired in the way of comfort or even luxury. The boats were large and furnished with sleeping berths. The charge was three or four cents per mile, and meals were provided on equally reasonable terms. The rate of speed was four miles an hour, so that traveling was almost as rapid as on the rough turnpike, and in the judgment of many much more agreeable. Often the traveler varied the monotony of riding, by leaving the boat, perhaps at a lock, and walking on in advance; a duty, according to Miss Martineau, more obvious than any other, in order to air the cabin (close enough at the best) and get rid of the odors of the table, before the passengers were shut up for the night. Miss Martineau's experience was less happy, we trust, than that of many another traveler on the Erie canal. "I would never advise ladies," she says, "to travel by canal, unless the boats are quite new and clean, or at least far better than any that I saw or heard of. On fine days it is pleasant enough sitting outside (except for having to duck under bridges every quarter of an hour) and in dark evenings the approach of the boat lights on the water is a pretty sight; but the horrors of night and wet days, more than compensate for all the advantages these vehicles can boast." The sprightly Fanny Kemble, on the other hand, though somewhat tormented by the bridges, liked traveling by canal very much. The country was delightful and she found gliding through the water at the rate of four and a half miles an hour, infinitely preferable to the noise of wheels, the rumble of a coach, and the jerking of bad roads, merely for the sake of gaining a mile an hour.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, CLINTON, N. Y.

A. S. Hoffman

(To be continued.)

THE FALLACY OF 1860

For reasons, valid beyond dispute, a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy may be the best form of government for a people; which depends, not upon the character of a government, but upon the character of a people. There is a great difference in the character of people, why, cannot be known, unless all their previous history could be, but the fact is patent, that some are more some less gregarious; in some hope, the source of imagination, is stronger than in others; where it is strongest, men feel most and reason least; where weakest, men reason most and feel least: these, perhaps too distrustful of the new, because it is not old, and those, perhaps too careless of the old, and too eager for the new. When, therefore, in the middle of the last century, a cant phrase—The Rights of man—came into vogue, to please the fancy, and confuse the judgment, it met with a different reception from the French, and the English mind. The English mind analyzed it, and found, that unless it meant a return to the primitive state, it was void of meaning, and if a paraphrase, to assert that every individual was entitled to all the freedom of thought, of speech, of publicity and of action, compatible with the welfare of society, that claim was already known, and expressed by the older and more familiar word, Liberty. When the colonists, among their arguments, urged the Rights of man, the "Taxation no Tyranny" pertinently answered: As the naked sons of nature, you are behind ramparts which can neither be mined by sophistry, nor battered by declamation; but what becomes of your charters? You cannot claim in opposite characters. Of course, when the colonists sat in conventions, and organized governments, the Rights of man were forgotten. The assertion of them had answered its purpose, enlisting the sympathy of the French mind, then delighting in pictures of philosophic savages, practicing all the virtues, and none of the vices of civilization, and rejoicing in all the freedom, without any of the trammels of barbarism. Half a century before, Swift had put in the mouth of a frail wife, as a justification of frailty, the claim of the right of women to the *vagus concubitus*: "Congruous to the laws of nature and therefore supe-

rior to all human laws." He little thought, when he penned the exquisite absurdity, that a political school would make Mrs. John Bull's claim of natural rights a panacea for the ills of life, and the object of governments; for all experience showed, and all reasoning proved, that no social organization can do more than give to each a chance to run; place in the race, depending on himself. It can make many small, or a few large prizes in the lottery of life, and insure fairness in the drawing, but the distribution must depend upon the turn of the wheel. All that any form of government can do is, not by its action to promote inequality; equality is beyond its reach; and none have ever yet done so much. "The right divine to govern wrong" may shift from a king to an oligarchy, from an oligarchy to a plutocracy, from a plutocracy to a democracy, without any abatement of its capacity for evil in its mutations; for the axiom, that "power corrupts," is as true of a voter as of a monarch, and the instinct of supremacy is as strong in a ditcher as in a duke. His Majesty, a majority, is assured of as much servility as any other majesty, and can repudiate "good fences make good neighbors" with unmeasured praise. For more than a century, nations have craved written constitutions, which men might consult, as a carpenter his foot-rule; to learn the limits of rights and duties; for, whatever the origin of a constitution, its function is plain; to divide authority from liberty. Authority is the right of some to control, upon subjects, more or fewer, the will and action of others. Liberty, the right of will, and action upon all other subjects than those. A constitution must therefore be a fence, or a fraud. It either limits or adds to strength, protects or oppresses weakness, bars the greedy from more than an equal share or helps them to more than an equal share. Is it not clear that Liberty and Authority ought to have equal arms, and an equal right to use them against aggression; or that, in the absence of such equality, the system, whatever it be, must vibrate between injustice and war? * The recognition of the right of Liberty to resist would almost preclude the necessity of its exercise, but without that recognition by those over whom a constitution is the supreme law, neither liberty nor honesty can long be possible. The Constitution of the United States seems upon its face a very plain document, not easily misunderstood. If submitted, with the history of its formation, to ten men of average intelligence in England, or France, or Germany, their several interpretations would probably be almost identical. It was framed by men of great ability and high character; it was discussed in the conventions of the states to which it was sent for ratification, by strong men before strong

* A religious, or a political plan, without a Nemesis has not yet been conceivable.

ment—he authors, debaters and listeners, brought up in self-governing communities in the daily practice of political life. It must be assumed that there was then a general understanding of its import, yet it has proved in practice so obscure, or so capable of obscurity, that men have constantly wrangled over it; that one question under it has been shelved by the expenditure of ten thousand millions, the sacrifice of half a million of lives, and miseries inexpressible in figures; and another by the creation of a tribunal unknown to it—conviction of justice, in neither case, following compulsion. Is the human intellect, then, incapable of formulating a distinct idea, or is language insufficient to express one? Neither; our Constitution puts very distinct ideas into very clear language, but the most careful and lucid expression of intention is not sufficient, unless words have a fixed meaning. If the ideas and sense of words accepted by all at the ratification of the Constitution cease to be accepted by all, the rights and duties of the citizen cease to be unmistakable. The system provides for its amendment within certain limits, and upon certain conditions. The amendment has to be made by states, whence a dissatisfied individual must strive to influence his state. How he may do so, as a state has general legislative power upon all subjects not excluded by agreement with other states, or delegated to the federal government, is a question for the state exclusively. If a majority is dissatisfied, of course the State is, and has a constitutional means of making its dissatisfaction effective. But if it has a constitutional power, it has constitutional limits, and if it oversteps those limits, what other states shall do is a question each must determine for itself. The federal authority was not given any right of judgment nor power of action in such a case. As a matter of policy it should not have; and if any think that it should, the Convention, after careful deliberation, decided otherwise. If some of the states quarreled, it saw in the exclusion of the federal power from participation, and in the interposition of other states less heated than the opponents, one chance of a peaceful solution, and that chance it took. Soon after the Constitution went into action, Madison, who as much, if not more than any other man, had made the Convention possible, and its work a government, exclaimed: "Had a prophet risen in Virginia, her ratification would have been withheld." That cry of despairing hope was echoed from other states, and was justified by facts. The Constitution was being altered, and not through its self-contained power of amendment. The process was very simple. When the rulers of the middle ages wanted to steal, they debased the coin; the image, superscription and name remained, the value fell. The fraud, so successful with money, was discovered to be applicable to words—the spelling and

sound kept, the meaning might be altered. By such jugglery, the Constitution could become, not what the Convention made, but what it refused to make; and those few of its members whose opinions could not command the assent of a single state, be enabled to impose them upon all the states. By whom this ingenious contrivance was invented, and utilized is of no moment; what it did, is: it dissociated the idea of a union from the idea of a Constitution, pretexting two objects of allegiance—distracting duty, and dividing loyalty. It associated the idea of an end, not a means—a principal, not an agent—with the Federal Government; pointed out how the intrenchments of liberty might be turned; taught the commercial value of chicane, and assumed the natural party lines to be between those who want to obey the Constitution, and those who want it to obey them. Consequently, most of our party controversies have turned not upon expediency, the proper subject of politics, but upon jurisdiction, each side seeing usurpation, either Federal, or State, and one side certain to feel itself cheated. The mental characteristic which prompted such action for such results is as old as the world. It is a sense of superiority, from assumed worth or wisdom, entitling the possessors to make their own feelings, or conclusions, the standard of right and wrong—an assertion of the inherent inequality of their fellow-citizens, and the right of rule, in the exorbitant. The Greek mind, which had large experience of this passion, coined a word to express “wanting more than a share”—and incarnated it in the fable of Procrustes, who lopped the long, and stretched the short, to his stature. Our language is less flexible, self-will is too general, self-conceit carries with it something of the ridiculous, and selfishness something of the mean, whereas the feeling, a compound of the three, may co-exist with every private virtue, and with one-sided benevolence. The motive of those men was not bad, in the common acceptance of that word, they meant good, not harm. But motives are not like rain and sunshine, independent of man; he makes them, and in a government based on consent, they are good or bad, as they conform to, or depart from, the consent. Good intentions, undoubtedly, bar rancor, even exact generosity, but, in the estimate of an act, they do not weigh a feather. Men of that type, in earlier ages, if successful, were great, if unsuccessful, they lost their heads; and we retain enough of the habits of the past to punish one who, in the interest of what he believes the right, stuffs a ballot-box. It is much less difficult to understand than to misunderstand our system. There is no complexity to be mastered, unless the difference between one and two is a complexity, and of so much, a crow is capable. A citizen of the United States must be a citizen of some

state.* As the citizen of a state, he has rights against, and duties to, the citizens of that state; those are under the social compact. As a citizen of the United States, he has rights against, and duties to, the citizens of the United States; those are under the political compact. The two differ as widely as air and water, which none confound because oxygen is present in both. A man does not need schools or journals to teach him what duties are. They are what he feels due to him. He carries the rule of right and wrong about him. Of course "there is in every Constitution a stronger power, one which would gain the victory, if the compromises by which the Constitution habitually works were suspended, and there came a trial of strength." There was a stronger power in the Union from the first, there always must be, shift as the strength may. The Convention was not ignorant of that fact, nor of the fact that the rule of numbers is one form of physical force, ballots being as capable of overbearing law as bayonets. Nor had it not profited by the experience of history; it knew that a majority will oppress a minority, whenever its interest or passions urge. That truth was expressed by several, and assented to by all. Between Force and Rights, the Convention therefore interposed a judiciary. Even those members most outspoken in contempt of human nature, seemed assured that the judges of such an Areopagus must be lifted by the honor of the office, and the sacredness of the trust, above the passions and prejudices of ordinary men, to absolute honesty, and pure reason. That the Convention did not embody the conclusion of the Declaration of Independence was because, then, all believed in that doctrine, which its own existence and work exemplified. The necessity for, and the function of, the Supreme Court have been so well stated by Mill as to forbid more than quotation. "Under the more perfect form of federation, where every citizen owes obedience to two governments, that of his own state and that of the federation, it is evidently necessary, not only that the constitutional limits of the authority of each should be precisely and clearly defined, but that the power to decide between them in any case of dispute, should not reside in either of the governments, or in any functionary subject to it, but in an umpire independent of both. This involves the remarkable consequence, actually realized in the United States, that a Court of Justice, the highest federal tribunal, is supreme over the various governments, both state and federal, and is the first great example of what is

* The citizen of a state at the adoption of the Constitution, those admitted since under the federal law as citizens of a state, and their descendants are citizens of the United States, and no others. A man may be a citizen of a state and not of the United States.

now one of the most prominent wants of civilized society, a real International Tribunal."

De Tocqueville dilated upon a crowning excellence, "that its decision, after much previous popular discussion, and after hearing argument by the ablest lawyers, is drawn from it, by the duty it cannot refuse to fulfill, of dispensing justice impartially between adverse litigants." Later wisdom decided—"That if the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, instantly they are made, in ordinary litigation, between parties in personal actions; the People will have ceased to be their own rulers, having, to that extent, practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." In 1860 a political organization existed under that Latter Day doctrine, for one single object. That object was either inside or outside of the Constitution. If inside, it was laudable; if outside, it proposed a pronunciamiento by voters, a *coup d'état* by the ballot-box. It would seem incredible, if such had not been the terrible fallacy of 1860, that many citizens of the United States, in spite of their admitted general and political intelligence, should have failed to see the imperative necessity of taking a side, when opposing ideas ran upon parallel lines, and could therefore never meet. The claim as stated by the one was: "One section of our country believes that slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it wrong and ought not to be extended." The claim by the other, was, that question was originally and has been lately constitutionally settled, and is not a lawful subject of federal politics. The point raised touched the very pith and marrow of a limited government, and a federal system; yet nearly two millions of voters, more by many thousands than the number of votes cast for the successful party, practically disclaimed the duty, and abnegated the power of decision. That immense mass, the strongest physical power, capable, even after the election, of commanding peace and compelling right, was, up to active hostilities, of no more account in shaping events, than a rag-baby. Its units were neutral, where neutrality could do infinite harm, ceasing to be neutral, when neutrality could do infinite good.

It is curious, at least, that the ultra antislavery men held the same view of the constitutional status of slavery as South Carolina, that the leader of the moderate antislavery men found a law higher than a supreme law, and that Mr. Lincoln was forced, by the inexorable pressure of reason, step by step, out of the federal idea, and was soon asserting for the "people" a revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow the government. The difference between the victor and the vanquished lay in their differ-

ent construction of the word "People," in a preamble, whether it should have the distributive sense attributed to it when the Constitution was discussed, and without which distributive sense admitted it would have been rejected; or the aggregate sense since found so convenient, and of which the convenience is far from being exhausted. If the War of Independence was fought, as Mr. Webster said, upon a preamble, and the War of the Secession, was fought upon a word in a preamble, it is reasonable to expect that the next war may be waged upon the potency of a semicolon, or the capabilities of a comma.

A. W. Blason

IRWIN, VA.

CHURCH-GOING IN NEW YORK CITY, 1787

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER *

"Friday, July 6, 1787. This morning delivered most of my introductory letters to the members of Congress. Prepared my papers for making application to Congress for the purchase of lands in the western country for the Ohio Company. At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress Chamber, in the City Hall, by Colonel Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. . . .

Saturday, July 7. Paid my respects this morning to Dr Holton and several other gentlemen. Was introduced by Dr. Ewing and Mr Rittenhouse to Mr Hutchins, Geographer to the United States. Consulted him, where to make our location. Dined with General Knox. Introduced to his lady, and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbiniere—at dinner, to several other gentlemen who dined with us. Our dinner was served in high style—much in the French taste. Mrs Knox is very gross, but her manners easy and graceful. She is sociable and would be very agreeable, were it not for her affected singularity in dressing her hair. She seems to mimic a military style, which to me is disgusting in a female. Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward, and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form covered with black gauze, which hangs in streamers down her back. Her hair behind is in a large braid, turned up, and confined with a monstrous large crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis La Fayette's valet—commonly called, on this account, the Marquis' *Devil*. No person at table attracted my attention so much as the Marquis Lotbiniere—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds a fool. . . .

Sunday, July 8. Attended public worship this morning at the new brick Presbyterian Church.† The house is large and elegant. The carvings within are rather plain, but very neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. The form of the house is long, and the pulpit near one end,

* Life of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler. 2 vols. 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.

† It stood on the site of the present building of *The New York Times*.

but not adjoining to the wail. It is supported by a single post, which passes up at the back part of the pulpit, and is crowned with the sounding board, not more than two feet above the minister's head. At the end of the house, opposite to the pulpit, are two doors, which open into two long aisles that extend the whole length of the house. The pews are built on each side the aisles, one tier of wall pews and two tiers in the centre of the house. The pews are long and narrow, having only one long seat, except that there are two square wall pews placed opposite to each other near the centre of the side walls, with a handsome canopy over them supported by pillars. The floors of these pews are considerably elevated above the others, which renders them very pleasant. They are called the Governor's pews, and are occupied by strangers.

Dr Ewing, Provost of the college at Philadelphia, preached a very pretty sermon on the advantages and excellency of the Christian religion. The congregation appeared remarkably neat and rich in their dress, but not gay. The house was very full and exceedingly attentive. I was particularly pleased with the singing. Around the large pillar which supports the pulpit is a very large circular pew, appropriated to the wardens of the church and the chorister. In the front of this pew is a little desk, considerably elevated. When the Psalm is read, the chorister steps up into this desk and sings the first line. He is then joined in the second line by the whole congregation—men, women, and children seemed all to sing, almost without exception. The airs of the tunes were sprightly, though not very quick; the singing, notwithstanding it was performed by such a mixed multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn, and the time well-preserved. There is an Orchestra, but no Organ. The public service was introduced by a short prayer, reading the Scriptures, and then singing; but instead of singing before sermon, they sing in the morning, as well as afternoon, before prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, the wardens go out from the large round pew, with each taking a tier of pews, and walk down the aisles. Every person, great and small, puts into the platter one copper, and no more. This contribution is made through the whole congregation in less than three minutes.

I was struck, this morning, with a custom in this city which I had never before heard of in any part of the world. I observed, as I was going to church, six men, walking two and two toward the church, with very large white sashes, which appeared to be made of fine Holland, the whole width and two or three yards in length. They were placed over their right shoulders, and tied under their left arms in a very large bow, with several yards of white ribbon on the top of their shoulders; a large

rose, formed of white ribbon, was placed on the sash. As I came up to the yard of the church, Dr Rodgers and Dr Ewing were just before me, going into the church, both in their black gowns, but Dr Rodgers with a large white sash, like those of the six men, only that the bow and rose of ribbons were black. These sashes, I was informed, were given the last week at a funeral. These were worn by the minister and bearers to the grave, and are always worn by them the next Sunday, and the bearers always walk to and from the church together. To give these sashes, is a general custom at the funeral of persons of any note.

I dined at Sir John Temple's. . . . He dines at two on Sundays. Our dinner was in the English style, plain but plentiful; the wines excellent, which is a greater object with Sir John than his roast beef or poultry. . . . At half-past three Mr Dawes and I withdrew, and attended church at St George's Chapel. This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than any other in America. The inside of the Church is very large. Some paintings and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, which is the same here as in the Presbyterian Church, being one on each side of the meeting-house. Dr Beach read prayers, and Dr Moore preached an elegant sermon on benevolence. The church was exceedingly crowded, and the congregation was richly, but not splendidly dressed. In the time of the first singing the Wardens visited every pew with their Pewter plates, into which every person small and great, put in a copper. This seemed to be 'killing two birds with one stone,' for while they were engaged in singing their Psalm (for everybody sings) they were as busy in fumbling their pockets for the coppers, and rattling them into the platters. . . . Attended a lecture (in the evening) at Dr Rogers' new brick Presbyterian Church. Full congregation. Dr Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College, preached. He is an intolerably homely old Scotchman, and speaks the true dialect of his country, except that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is a bad speaker, has no oratory, and had no notes before him. His subject was 'Hypocrisy.' But, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, the badness of the delivery, which required the closest attention to understand him, yet the correctness of his style, the arrangement of his matter, and the many new ideas that he suggested, rendered his sermon very entertaining. The attention of the Congregation strongly marked their regard for good sense and clear reasoning, rather than mere show of oratory and declamation. Dr Rogers is certainly the most accomplished gentleman for a clergyman, not to except even Dr Cooper, that I have ever been acquainted with. He lives in elegant style, and entertains company as genteelly as the first Gentleman in the city."

THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYAS

MONTEJO ON THE COAST

I

Concerning the history of Yucatan previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, but little is known, only enough to form an outline of a few events. It is believed that in the early part of the Christian era Tutul Xiu, one of a dynasty bearing that name, came, at the head of the Nahuatls,* to Yucatan, from the south. It is said that when these Nahuatls arrived the people dwelling there were absolutely peaceable, only becoming warlike under tuition of the new-comers, but that they soon excelled in the management of weapons, far surpassing their teachers.

The monarch of the peninsula was Cocom, one of a long line of kings of that name, renowned for their great benevolence and goodness. When the Nahuatls had been for some generations established in the country, governed by their own ruler, who, in turn, recognized the superior authority of Cocom, one of that dynasty manifested traits very unlike those which had made his ancestors beloved. He was avaricious, cruel, tyrannical, and wanted to enslave his subjects. Prince Tutul Xiu opposed him, and war was declared. Cocom called to his aid mercenaries from Mexico. They behaved very badly, persisting in evil customs and habitually practicing cannibalism, that had been introduced by the Nahuatls as part of their religious rites.

The civil war between the Cocom and the Tutul Xius lasted through several generations, each Cocom showing more odious traits than his predecessors, and continually hiring low people from Mexico. Tutul Xiu was in the end vanquished and compelled to abandon the city of Uxmal, where his forefathers had established themselves. He retired to a place that he called Mani.†

A third strong party was that of the *Chels*, the sacerdotal class and their followers, residing at Izamal, subject to Cocom. Farther east were the Itzas. These came in all their strength and destroyed Izamal, the holy city of temples. Chichen, the city of the Itzas, was in turn devastated by

* The origin of the Nahuatls is unknown. The learned Dr. Gumeindo Mendoça, a Mexican of Nahuatl descent, was of opinion that they came to America from India.

† Mani, *it is passed* (my epoch is passed).

the people of Cocom, and some of the Itzas then went away to Peten. But there came a time, early in the 15th century, when the power of the Cocom was greatly diminished. He who was then reigning realized it, and sent one of his sons to Mexico to negotiate for more soldiers. Before any help could arrive all the people came together to crush out the objectionable monarch, Tutul Xiu being the leader. Cocom, his family, and the greater number of his adherents were put to death, Mayapan, his city and stronghold, being laid waste and burned (in 1446, according to Landa). The young Cocom, who was fortunate enough to be absent, on his return established himself, with the few of his father's people who had escaped, in the province of Zaci or Kupul, in the east part of the peninsula; his party afterward became very strong, and was known as that of the Kupuls. Battles occurred every now and then between the three powers—Kupuls, Chels, and Tutul Xius—not to mention many smaller parties that warred against each other. On the north coast were the Pechs,* descendants of those Mexicans introduced by the Cocom; they seem to have been disliked by all, the other inhabitants not mingling with them. These people befriended the Spaniards on their arrival, and helped them to make their way into the country; having a personal motive in so doing.

The various historians, principally Spanish friars, who have written about the conquest of Yucatan, differ in their way of telling the story, some showing marked partiality for their countrymen, others evidently sympathizing with the natives. Upon one point they agree, that the invaders were a handful of men compared with those who resisted them. In every battle, according to said writers, the odds against the Spaniards were so great that one can hardly comprehend why they were not crushed out of existence. It is well, however, to remember a few important facts: the armor of the Europeans made them almost invulnerable to arrows; while the natives, when they did not dispense with all clothing save a loin cloth, were scantily clothed in garments of cotton. Although when the country was discovered some warriors on the coast had shields and padded tunics—as described in a former article—in the accounts of the conquest no mention is made of such things, while the nudity of the natives is more than once alluded to. Even admitting that a few wore tunics padded with cotton and salt, this would be a poor protection against firearms. Again, the superiority of weapons made one Spaniard equal to several aborigines. The horses, too, also partly covered with armor, trampled many of the natives under their feet. Then there was always some traitor ready to cau-

* Pech is the Maya word for tick. Possibly this name was given to the cannibal Mexicans because, like ticks, they were addicted to human as well as other blood.

tion the white men against any unexpected danger or surprise. Over and over again the strangers were saved by one of the people whose liberty they were menacing.

Those of Mexican descent, dwelling on the coast, hated and despised by the other inhabitants, regarded the foreigners as possible allies against their enemies, so made friendly advances to the white men as soon as they landed, offering presents to propitiate them. This statement is made by one of themselves.

At the beginning of the 16th century Yucatan was by no means a terrestrial paradise, for though there were many happy homes, civilization was then in an advanced state of decadency, the country divided into many principalities, the inhabitants continually at war with each other. All prisoners of war were held as serfs, whereas in earlier times that lot fell only to foreign captives and those convicted of theft. When the conquest was ultimately effected, it was owing to the want of union—a majority having voluntarily rendered obedience and joined the new foe, the other portion was finally overcome by force.

Before examining the Spanish records of events that occurred in Yucatan between the years 1527 and 1560, it will be well to glance at a manuscript written on the same subject by one of the Pechs. The Spanish statements are probably exaggerated, to make the unquestionably brave Spaniards appear as marvels of valor and strength, for a very different light is thrown on the matter by Pech's manuscript, now in possession of Don Pedro Regil, of Merida. It is in the Maya language. Its author, Nakuk Pech, was son of a batab (a nobleman, a chief), ruling on the north coast when the Spaniards arrived. This makes the document particularly interesting and trustworthy.

According to Nakuk, the Adelantado and his people landed in 1527, twenty-five miles east of what is now Progreso, and remained some time on that part of the coast, going as far as Oilan, thirty miles farther east. Then they went to Ekab, on the Atlantic coast of the peninsula, to Kaua, Tinun, and Chichen, to Champoton and Campeche, thence to Tihò (Merida).

Pech speaks of the Spaniards as being "terrible to the country." That they were kindly received the following lines show: "On the arrival of the Spanish gentlemen . . . all the nobility (among the Pechs), hastened to welcome them with manifestations of pleasure, serving them abundantly with choicest viands, and offering tributes . . . They met them with presents even before they entered the city."

Nevertheless they were meanwhile, according to the Spanish writers,

sending runners to neighboring settlements to make known the coming of the strangers, and warn them to be armed and ready to assemble. So it is evident that if they preferred peace, they were also prepared for war. The white men soon made themselves obnoxious. Pech calls them, in derision, the *kul unicob* (holymen). *Kul* is holy, *cul* is the Maya word for goblet, and this name may have been given to the Spaniards because they drank very freely, for in the same sentence Nakuk states that they abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other excesses.

Notwithstanding the friendship shown them by the Pechs, the soldiers sacked Maxtunil, their city, the granaries as well as the habitations, seized the domestic animals, and robbed even the nobles who had received them with unbounded hospitality, giving tributes freely and unasked. "Having, in their weakness, because unwilling to go to war, given tributes to the Spaniards, they afterwards loved them," writes Nakuk, showing that some became foolishly infatuated with the blue-eyed men in spite of their misdeeds. Was Pech himself among the number, or is it in irony that he says, "these adorable Spanish men?" The people in Yucatan were remarkable for their wit and sarcasm, and considering the behavior of the invaders the word "adorable" was probably used as suggested.

A second document by another member of the Pech family begins thus: "I, Don Pablo * Pech, last Governor of Chicxulub (near Maxtunil), here record the wanderings of my fathers and all the suffering they endured during the conquest of the place by those strangers."

This writer likewise tells of the generous way in which the Spaniards were received and presented with the best of everything in the land. He says they remained near Oilan, on a sandbank forming an island, during three years, products of the land being always taken to them. The Kupuls then came to attack the intruders, who, seeking safety, at once set out to establish themselves at Ekab. When in the vicinity of that place several were taken ill with yellow fever, and at about the same time the people of Ekab declared war against them. So they fled inland to Kaua, Cuncuul, Tinun, at last reaching Chichen, high land, where they could regain health and strength.

While there Montejo made known his wish to have an interview with Cocom, king of the Kupuls, and was told that he was not there, but on the frontier. Thither the Adelantado and his men determined to go. They were quite near to Jonot-Akè when Princess Ixcuet Cocom sent a trusty messenger to say to them, "Come not hither, for you will perish!" Whereupon they made their way back to Kaua, and thence to Oilan. They

* Don Pablo was a name given by the priests when they baptized Pech.

embarked in their ships and went to Tzelebna, at which place they constructed fortifications for their greater safety, and "there they indulged in drunkenness and gluttony." After some time they went to a place adjoining Champoton, remained there seven years, then settled in Campeche. There the Adelantado, with a fresh lot of men, exacted tributes of all who were friendly to him, and after a while went to Tihò. "Then came the men of quality, *Encomendadores*. All the population, even comprising the inheritance of my father, were given to Julian Doncel, he being the first to exercise control over the city of Chicxulub. He was married in presence of Don Francisco de Montejo. Then he began to exact tributes from my father."

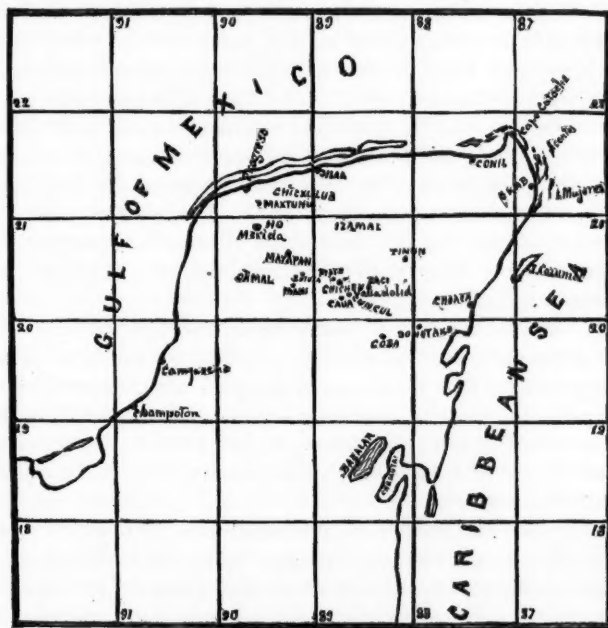
This little information is from the first part of the Pech manuscript, which, unhappily, is not now within our reach. Here we find no account of desperate battles fought by a handful of Spaniards against thousands of natives. On the contrary, it is plain that those on the coast received the Spaniards in friendship, and that, in the early part of the conquest, Montejo and his followers shifted from place to place, to avoid meeting hostile multitudes. Later, they had native allies, as well as others sent from Mexico by the Spanish authorities there. In telling of their own exploits the Spanish soldiers were sure to exaggerate, and each time the story or adventure was retold, something would be added to it. We cannot help coming to this conclusion when we read of the conquest as given by the priests, who wrote on the subject several years after the events had transpired.

From these historians we learn that when, in 1527, the Adelantado landed, taking formal possession of the country in the name of God and for His Majesty, Carlos V., he was accompanied by four hundred soldiers, foot and horse, supplied with weapons, ammunition, and provisions. The ships remained at anchor in care of the seamen. It is stated that Montejo and his men did not advance into the country for some time for want of an interpreter, and because many of them were made ill by the heat, which was greater than they had been accustomed to. But on the north coast of Yucatan the heat is not excessive, less so than in Cuba, and little more than in southern Spain. It is, therefore, likely that they tarried on the coast, not in consequence of ill health, but to acquire the language, and in order that the people in general might gradually become reconciled to their presence. The Pechs, meanwhile, provided them with the products of the land.

After some time had elapsed the lord of Choaca* sent some of his

* Said to have been a city of 10,000 houses.

principal people to visit the Adelantado, who received them with all due courtesy. But it would seem that one of their number was charged with a difficult undertaking—nothing less than to kill the chief of the white men, for having cautiously approached a black slave, who was in attendance on Montejo, he wrested from his waist a dagger and with it tried to stab the Adelantado, who defended himself with a similar weapon. Soldiers rushed to the rescue, and the man was immediately put to death. This was but the first of several attempts on the life of Montejo, the people believing that if he perished his followers would depart.



MAP of YUCATAN

The Spaniards now resolved to go to Choaca.

On the way they rested a day or two at a place called Coba, and there so gorged themselves with the delicious sweet fruit called anona that the villagers always afterwards spoke of them as the *Ahmak opob* or anona eaters. The journey inland was slow and painful, over very rough paths, through dense forests. The adventurers also suffered greatly for want of water. Now and again they passed through deserted villages, the inhabitants having gone to unite themselves with the larger populations of other

places. Their guide led the invaders to Donot Akè where a multitude of Indians lay in ambush. When the Spaniards stopped to rest all suddenly appeared armed with arrows, clubs charred at the end, lances with sharp flint points, two-handled swords of very hard wood, rattles, whistles, and other rude musical instruments such as turtle shells struck with deer horns and great conch shells that served as trumpets. The warriors wore nothing but loin cloths, and were daubed with earth of various colors. They had rings in their ears and noses. The Spaniards faced the shouting multitude and a fierce battle ensued, the natives fighting "like savage demons." The few white men who were on horseback had great advantage, their height enabling them to slay many natives with their lances. All day the struggle went on, native warriors continually coming forward to take the place of those who fell. The Spaniards lost some men, horses, and dogs. Darkness put a stop to the battle, and all night the natives remained quiet, giving the white men a chance to attend to their wounded comrades. At peep of day, however, they were on the spot and recommenced the attack, but at noon they retreated, pursued by the Spaniards, who kept up the chase till they had made themselves complete masters of the neighborhood. More than one thousand two hundred natives are said to have perished in this fray.

Was this a fabulous account invented by the Spaniards? We cannot lose sight of the fact that Nakuk Pech mentions no battle at Akè, but, on the contrary, affirms that by advice of Ixcuet Cocom the invaders retreated from that place before they had fully arrived. Even the Spanish writers give us to understand that, not wishing to lose his men, the Adelantado did his best not arouse the animosity of the natives, because they were very warlike and numerous.

Reaching Chichen Itza the conquerors decided to remain there, because the great edifices could serve as fortresses when the natives attacked them.

We have seen a fortification made at that place by the Spaniards. It was a square enclosure measuring about a hundred feet on each side. The southwest end of it was formed by the mausoleum of Prince Chaacmol,* the summit of which served them as a lookout.

Miss D. Le Plongeon.

* A statue of that prince, unearthed from the mausoleum is now in the National Museum of Mexico City. There is a plaster cast of the same in the museum at Washington, and another in Paris, at the Trocadero Museum.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE-BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

A very quaint and racy little manuscript note-book, sixty years old, has crossed the Atlantic Ocean by a late steamer, with apparently no other point and purpose than the diversion and entertainment of American readers. It is an English production, although written under the sunny skies of the Western Continent. The volume is unique in style and binding, and contains one hundred and thirty-four closely-filled manuscript pages, six by three and one-half inches in size, without margins, and is in the clear, bold hand-writing of Colonel Baillie, a well-known member of Parliament in his day, from whose library it has wandered, like its author. Colonel Baillie made in 1828 a tour in America, and this note-book, which he carried in his vest pocket, contains the record of his varied experiences. The daily entries commence at Washington, November 1, 1828, and cease at Vera Cruz, March 7, 1829. It should be remembered that the railroad of modern America was then unknown, and that the facilities for travel, particularly in the West, were of the most primitive kind. The extracts from the note-book will explain themselves. The first paragraph reads:

Nov 1. Having paid farewell visits this morning to our numerous friends, we left Washington in the evening at 7 o'clock.

We passed 10 days here, and made acquaintances with all the principal people, including Foreign ministers &c. Mr Vaughan, our Envoy paid us every possible attention. We dined with him or at the secretary's whenever we were not otherwise engaged. Yesterday we had the honor of dining with the President, where we met a large party. Mr Adams is a plain looking little man, resembling in manner and appearance a worthy shopkeeper in Somerton of the name of Baldwin. Our dinner was good, and as I was surrounded at the table by Foreigners I was obliged to converse in French. We retired at 8 o'clock, and adjourned to Mrs Rush's: (the wife of the Secretary of the Treasury :) where we met all the beauty of Washington. Mr Rush is a pleasing gentlemanly person, considerably benefited by his long residence in England.

The Town of Washington is situated on a noble piece of table land 70 or 80 feet above the Potomac, a fine looking river a mile wide below the city. It was laid out by Gen^l Washington with the view of competing with the largest capitals of Europe. At present there is nothing to recom-

mend it unless you number among its beauties streets 2 miles in length with scattered miserable looking houses. The view however from the President's house is by no means uninteresting, standing on the ascent of the hill. You look down the principal avenue with a line of Trees in the centre, the capitol standing on its elevated heights being seen at or rather closing the view in the distance. It is a large noble building with a Portico supported by Corinthian Columns. Eden and myself both condemned the Taste, which I believe is not strictly classical. The Octagon Hall in entering has a fine aspect, lighted by the Dome above; and in the different divisions are placed large pictures representing the most memorable events of American History.

We witnessed to-day the ceremony of introducing some Indian Deputies of the Winnepeg Tribe sent by their nation on some State affairs. The whole business was a complete Humbug. The American Government keep up the farce of Treating with the different nations; but are at the same time driving them out of the country as fast as possible. They were fine looking men above 6 feet high; with the blankets worn thrown over the shoulder, leaving the right arm free; they wore a head dress of feathers: all painted red: and excessively dirty. They walked very upright with a free and unembarrassed deportment: and on the whole gave a favorable idea of the wild savage Inhabitants of the forests. Reached Rockville this evening.

November 2. Started this morning at daylight: raining hard. The first annoyance on getting up was the discovery of the loss of my carpet-bag, entrusted with the rest of my baggage to the care of the servant: mem—learn in future to look after my own affairs. After a long tiresome voyage reached Frederic, a small town with a beastly Inn; after remaining an hour in the passage which was full of the raff of the place, we continued our journey in a vehicle containing 18 persons inside. Nothing could exceed the misery and wretchedness of our situation: we arrived at 9 o'clock at the small village of Hagers Town, where we determined to remain a day. . . .

The Inns on this road are in true republican style; receptacles fit only for the animals that frequent them. In most respects they are inferior to those in the North. . . . We were 15 hours in travelling 60 miles, the whole of this day's journey. The country is uniformly flat, with forests on both sides, precluding any view beyond the road we were passing over. It rained also the whole time.

Nov 3. Late for breakfast. I found only one gentleman at Table. . . . Hagers Town is a small place; but like every location in this

country has a printing Press and supports a weekly Paper. Spent the whole day here wretched enough.

I remark every American of whatever condition in life is a Politician, and indeed generally understands the relations and resources of this country better than even the educated classes in other countries. Just now the universal subject of conversation is the election of President. We hear nothing but Jackson and Adams (as L Byron says, Phebus what a name). These Candidates are freely talked over and their merits discussed by every man in the country. The subject is now so worn out that I am quite tired of their names and pretensions. A common address in a stage coach, which has been often put to me, is "I says Mister, are you for Jackson or Adams"? My answer is generally "for which you like sir."

Nov 4. Set off from Hagers Town at 7 this evening, and after an unpleasant night reached the Town of Cumberland, and shortly after began to ascend the Allegany Mountains. They run through the whole of this country, in nearly parallel ridges. The Road has been constructed by the government and is excessively rough and bad. It winds along the sides of the hills, from the heights of which you have occasional and extensive views of the country, though seldom presenting a pretty landscape. One interminable forest is the whole prospect before you without relief or backgrounds.

Our travelling companions are generally taciturn and morose: far from having that curiosity about strangers which is usually attributed to Americans. . . . Our carriage was built after the manner of an English Market Cart; the sides protected by a partial covering of leather, admitting both wind and rain. Sleeping with my head and neck exposed to the draft of wind and rain during the whole night, I was so stiff in the morning as to be unable to look in any direction but strait before me. The road was bad; one wheel gave way. Fortunately, we found a waggon by the road's side, from which we borrowed a wheel that fitted our carriage exactly.

Nov 5. At 6 this morning we arrived at Brownsville, prettily situated on one of the branches of the Ohio, which we passed in a boat, carriage and all. I began to cheer up at the prospect of the termination of our journey by land. Tired, stiff-necked, and crammed into a waggon with our former friends, I was by no means in the best of humor. Our whole journey of to-day was employed in ascending and descending the different ridges of the Allegany. They are seldom above 200 or 300 feet in height, and composed generally of lime-stone Rock, lying in uniform stratas and ridges above the land. The land appears much richer to-day

in the valleys: in descending the Mountains I observed a country almost resembling some parts of England in its fine pastures. Coal, which is found in many parts of Virginia and Philadelphia in great abundance, may be also seen here on the very surface of the soil. The wealth and inexhaustible resources of this country have not yet been ascertained; though even now there are few things they have not within themselves. Coal is everywhere in this district abundant. Iron, copper, and lead mines are also worked to a considerable extent. . . . Continued our journey about 6 o'clock in the evening. We had now only 30 Miles to Wheeling, which place however we did not reach until this morning about 3 o'clock 6th November.

Got up much refreshed by 5 hours sleep. We had travelled 3 nights and 2 days successively, which in these bad roads and worse carriage is no bad journey. Went on board the steamboat, which is very small and dirty. We had however no choice; the low state of the water in the Ohio not allowing large steamboats to ply at this season of the year. The river is small at Wheeling; the banks are beautiful and the prospect on all sides bounded by the Alleghany Mountains. They find here a great abundance of Black Bear and Deer: I have tasted them, though I cannot say I much approve of the food. The Captain after many Excuses and shufflings determined not to get off until to-morrow. Eden and myself dined at the Table d'hote, and in the evening ascended the heights near the Town. We had a fine view of the valley of the Ohio on one side, bounded by the lofty Alleganys: on the other side of the height where we were standing, not 50 feet wide, we observed another small semicircular valley formed by a stream falling into the Ohio a mile or two below. It was a beautiful and retired spot, and reminded us of some of the rivers in Wales. Wheeling has a considerable trade, being one of the enterports for merchandise ascending and descending the great southern and western rivers. Cincinnati in the State of Ohio is however the most important Town in the Western States.

Nov 7. Started this morning at 8 o'clock, one small Boat crammed with passengers, all equally disagreeable. We enjoyed the beautiful views, although rather confined to the Mountains, which rise abruptly from the river 200 or 300 feet, and covered with interminable forests. The river is singular for its uniform Bends or Meanders. They are as regular and equal as the half circle thrown off by the compass. . . . The forest trees, principally the plain maple sugar tree, hickory, and oak, are much finer here than anywhere we have lately seen. . . . The settlers are few, and cultivation along the banks scarcely seen. They are subject here as on

other rivers to the ague and bilious fever. The few inhabitants I saw were sickly, emaciated beings. No doubt the climate will improve when the land is cleared, and cultivation takes the place of the old original forests. Our engine is high pressure—the most commonly used on the boats in this river, being simpler in construction though more dangerous—accidents frequently happen. . . . The larger boats do not run before December when the river generally begins to rise.

Nov 8. Continued our voyage at 7 this morning, having anchored last night to avoid the difficulties of navigation and shoals in this part of the river. Passed Marietta, a small town at the junction of the Muskingum with the Ohio, which still continues winding through the mountains. Several beautiful little islands in the middle of the channel of a conical shape, and covered with noble forest trees. Some of the reaches or curves are highly picturesque; their great fault is their uniformity. . . . In our small cabin our party consists of 15 or 16 Americans, all sleeping in a room not 6 feet by four. Their toilette of a morning is simple and soon accomplished. They are something like the Albanians, who I believe never take off their capotes, until worn out. Passed the great and little Kanawha rivers which fall into the Ohio—names quite unknown in England, and here little thought of where rivers are so abundant. They are however, as well as most of the tributary waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, navigable to a considerable distance—a few hundred miles is considered here of little importance; they are little inferior to the first rivers in Europe, the cause I have no doubt, amongst others, of the wonderfully quick and improving condition of the United States.

Nov 9. Proceeded on our voyage at 8 o'clock, having anchored some hours on account of the Fog. Obligated to lay to at 12 o'clock to mend one of our paddle-wheels. Sir William and myself took a long walk in the woods where we saw some trees of immense size and growth. One elm we measured was 3 feet round the trunk. The beech, sycamore, and other trees equally fine. Our dinners on board the Packet are most abundant and better dressed than in most of the Inns. The boats which navigate these rivers are nothing more or less than floating hotels. Passed an improving town called Portsmouth in the Ohio state, and further on the junction of the Scioto. The Ohio has considerably increased in breadth, the mountains retiring further from the shores, and leaving a wide valley for its course. The broken trees lying on both sides of its banks, bear testimony to the impetuous force of its current during the seasons of its inundations.

We observe also more signs of cultivation during this day's passage.

The settlers from the North are beginning to make their way toward this fertile country; we met on the road from Washington whole parties—called here movers—in wagons who were directing their course West, towards the country of the Mississippi. Provisions of all kinds are already so abundant wherever there is an appearance of cultivation, and consequently so cheap that they scarcely repay the farmer, unless employed for domestic consumption.

Nov 10. Arrived at Cincinnati this morning, the capital of the state of Ohio. We landed on a paved bank of the river, with the buildings around forming a kind of Piazza. We saw here 20 large and small steamboats, and on the quay an immense number of drays and wagons, all indicating great trade and activity. This Town has risen within 2 years and in the very midst of forests, to be a place of considerable importance and trade. They have also the advantage of being free from the CURSE of slavery, which is not allowed by the laws of the State. The consequence is there is none of that slovenly appearance in the people and their houses, which I have observed uniformly exists in all parts of the country where the black slave forms the agricultural and laboring part of the community.

I have heard many intelligent men in Maryland and Virginia regret that those states have not followed the example of Ohio, New York, and others. They all agree that slavery there is a curse to the country, and an injury and loss to the proprietors. I have seen myself enough both here and in the west Indies to be quite convinced of the fact, and it is the best argument that can be urged against the continuance of slavery in our own colonies. Continued our voyage at 12. The river is no longer pent in by the Mountains, the land on both sides being flat, and apparently rich alluvial soil. Passed at night the Kentucky river, and at 7 this morning arrived at the town of Louisville, situated on the left bank of the river just above the Falls. This place is the 2nd large depot for the produce of the western and southern countries. The Falls are little more than a gradual descent, covering 2 miles, not navigable except when the river is full and even then dangerous. The government are constructing a large and substantial canal to avoid the impediments, which is not yet completed. We were unable to get any accommodation at the Inn except in the public room with all the black-guards of the place. We therefore set off with our baggage to the steamboat below the falls, where we took up our quarters. We had nothing to do the whole day, but wander about in the neighborhood, which is rather interesting. . . .

The number of steamboats here is almost incredible. I understood there were upwards of 500 on the Mississippi and Ohio alone. Articles of

all kinds of consumption are cheap in Kentucky and Ohio. Inquired the price of fowls which are one dollar per dozen. . . . The climate through the whole country is fine and healthy in winter, subject however to the ague and billious fevers during the summer. . . .

Nov 12. We were compelled to remain another day, one steamboat not having compleated her loading. Went on board several that were lying below us. The largest called the *Washington* is built like a three storied house, and with every accommodation that could be found in a good hotel. In the principal cabin there were 20 or 30 state rooms fitted up, and the whole arrangement was most excellent. The common boats used on these rivers are built something like an immense coffin, and impelled entirely by the current of the river. . . .

Nov 13. Commenced our journey at 8 this morning. The boat was heavily laden, and having two large barges also full lashed to her sides. Notwithstanding this immense weight we proceeded down the river at the rate of 6 or 7 miles an hour. . . . We began to grow deadly tired of the Ohio, where after the first day or two the same constant uniform scenery offers little to amuse the mind or relieve the *ennui* of long confinement on board a steamboat. Our company was equally disagreeable as those we travelled with from Wheeling. At 7 this Evening our united fleet struck on a sand bank, and although the whole power of the engine was employed to force her off we made so little progress, that it was determined to wait patiently until morning. This delay was doubly annoying as we were too far from the shore even to take a stroll in the woods. Amongst our party was a French jugglar who attempted to amuse the company with his slight of hand. We were all however in such bad humor that we gave him little encouragement.

Nov 14. The vessel still fast aground, and no alternative but to take out her cargo. This occupied us till 12 when we were once more afloat; from some stupidity however of the pilot, we were again ashore and remained so until 3. The river is much wider here than above the falls; but the water so low at this season of the year, that we were constantly sounding in 5 or 6 feet water. . . .

Nov 15. Began our journey this morning favorably at 6 o'clock. A frost last night & quite cold. Established an excellent quarter-deck on one of the Barges, where Eden and myself walked for 2 hours before breakfast. . . . The river here is nearly a mile in width. We passed several small islands well wooded which give considerable relief to the view. There is however so little of the picturesque; or rather the scenery is on so large a scale, that Eden (who is a tolerably good sketcher) has not at-

tempted a picture. I employ my leisure hours, which comprise my whole time when I am not in bed, in getting up my Spanish for my Mexican trip. . . . This is not the country where you can either see or fancy anything to make up an interesting journal.

Nov 16. Started this morning at six with another hard frost. . . . I observed scarcely any signs of population along the banks of the river, which has now become a wide and noble basin of water, with the exception of a few log huts where the settlers find sufficient employment in cutting wood for the steamboats. We anchored at 6 o'clock, and as it was a beautiful moonlight evening all our party went ashore to hunt the Raccoon & Opossum. . . . We had no sport; the whole scene was new and interesting. They drive the Raccoon with dogs into a tree which is cut down and the animal destroyed. Matthews has a song in his caricature on the Americans, beginning with:

"Possum up the gum tree,
Raccoon in the hollow—"

which I did not fully understand until I saw this evening's amusement. . . .

Nov 17. Excessively cold this morning at 6 o'clock when we continued our voyage. Passed the Wabash river, which divides Indiana from the Illinois State. . . . Sailed by some perpendicular lime stone rocks, rising abruptly from the river to the height of 60 feet. They are called here Bluffs. There is a wild fowl peculiar to this country, but more commonly met with at Washington and Baltimore, known by the name of *canoe back duck*. Their flavor is peculiar, but certainly superior to anything of this description of game in England.

(To be continued.)

MINOR TOPICS

A WASHINGTON RELIC

The recent number of "The Magazine of American History" devoted to Washington, serves to bring up another incident in his career which, though known in a general way, has a detail which is new to most students of history.

On the occasion of his visit to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1789, he called among other places at the residence of Madam Lear, the mother of his private secretary. Before his call he sent Madam Lear a note requesting that he might see all the children.* The occasion was a gala one in every sense of the word, and every attention due the honored Father of our Country was shown to him. The good Madam Lear, after the return of Washington, received from Martha Washington three china ornaments "for the children." They were taken from Washington's own mantel, and represented respectively a bird on a branch of a tree, a peasant with a bouquet of flowers, and a girl with flowers. For many years these remained in the possession of Madam Lear and her family. They were destined to be separated, however. The bird on the branch of a tree was presented by Madam Lear to Mrs. Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who was one of her intimate friends and between whom visits were regularly and often exchanged. The bird was then in excellent condition, without a crack in any part. The gift was duly appreciated by the recipient and carefully guarded. Threescore years and ten have elapsed since it went into the hands of its third owner. During that time it remained thirty years or more in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, an object of curiosity and delight to both young and old. In 1833 when Mrs. Edward Cutts removed to the central part of the state of Vermont, with her children and grandchildren, the bird was still cherished and followed the family. But forty-five years have since passed, and the china is sadly nicked and marred since the removal to Vermont. The spreading branch is gone, and only the bird on a tree stump remains to show its former glory. From Mrs. Edward Cutts it descended to the family of that lady's only son, the late Hon. Hampden Cutts, and at present is in the home of the writer, the grandson of Hon. Hampden Cutts.

As a specimen of work in china of an early day it is unique, and even in its present condition reveals considerable of the original shape and figure. Trifling in its intrinsic value, it has from association an unusual interest, especially as it is difficult to tell its exact age and earliest associations. The mere fact of its having been in Washington's possession gives it great interest, but, when we double or treble that, as one may by the men and things clustering about it in succeeding generations, it has no common value that man may estimate.

CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD

* Brewster's "Rambles about Portsmouth," 1st Series, p. 266.

THE MILITIA OF NEW JERSEY IN THE REVOLUTION

In his interesting sketch of "Washington as an Angler," Dr. George H. Moore mentions General Philemon Dickinson as of the "New Jersey Line." On the contrary, this distinguished officer's command was confined throughout the Revolutionary struggle to that of the yeomen of New Jersey, and in them he had a force unique in the history of warfare. Far be it from me to decry the inestimable services of the men of the "Continental Line"—their bones lie under the sods of too many well-fought battle-fields. But the New Jersey militiamen stand as distinct figures on the Revolutionary canvas, and their praises cannot be too often or too loudly sung. The remembrance of the self-sacrifice with which they exerted themselves in behalf of freedom and independence is a heritage dearly prized by their descendants, who now enjoy all the blessings that flow from their valuable services. It must be acknowledged that for a short sixty days, or may be forty, at the close of the year 1776, they faltered in their faith, and, discouraged by the fearful adversities of the hour, many were inclined to abandon the cause and seek protection for their homes and families from a victorious enemy. But it was a temporary disaffection. They soon learned to detest the promises of the invader, and angered by the outrageous injuries visited on them by the British, and stung perhaps with remorse at having even for a short time lost confidence in the cause of the colonies, they again resumed their arms. Henceforth the militia of the Jerseys stood pre-eminent among the defenders of the liberties of the people. As was written at the time by one who, though not a resident of the state, was a witness of and a participant in their glorious achievements, "they hovered around the enemy and harassed him beyond his stationary guards; the aged watched, explored, designed—the youth, alert, courageous, and ever ready for the onset, planted a hedge of pickets in General Washington's front to abate his painful solitudes, to conceal his nakedness, and support the Revolution, during a period in which a second army was totally disbanded, and a third levied under the eyes of a British commander." On this head we also have the testimony of Washington. In a letter written to the Pennsylvania legislature in October, 1777, he writes that the exertions of the New Jersey militia "had kept the enemy out of her limits, except now and then a hasty descent, without a Continental regiment. Besides doing this she has sent, and is now sending reinforcements to this and the Northern army."

Tolstoi claims that the real problem of the science of war is to ascertain and formulate the value of the spirit of the men, and their willingness and eagerness to fight. The Russian author is right. Could this always be done, it would often be found that large armies, thorough equipment, and perfection of discipline do not invariably carry with them assurances of successful campaigns. Greater than these—greater than the genius of generals—is that element of personal spirit pervading the contending forces. Our own Revolutionary contest is an excellent exemplification of this fact. The English soldiers had but little enthusiasm for the work they were

called upon to do—the subsidiary troops, none at all. The Americans, on the contrary—and this was especially true of the Jersey militia—animated by a spirit that had the force of a religion, were ever ready and willing to meet the enemy,—ever ready to dog their heels, harass their flanks, and fall upon their outposts. For liberty and their native land they were ever eager to fight in battalions or in small parties, as guerillas or as individuals. British soldiers, however well disciplined, were no match for American citizens who were fighting to avenge burned homes, ravaged families, and an invaded soil.

ANDREW D. MELICK, JR.

HARMONY OF HISTORY, DIESKAU

Every department of literature has its "variorum notæ," and the memorials of Baron Dieskau furnish a case in point. In May, 1755, a new administration for Canada was sent out from France, M. de Vaudreuil governor, M. Dieskau commander of the French troops, and M. Rostaing second in command, who was killed on the Alcide when captured June 8, by the English.*

Dieskau in August made a campaign against the English forts near Lake George, and was defeated in battle September 8, wounded four times, and made a prisoner by Sir Wm. Johnson. The consequences to him were very serious, as presented in the following records :

"Dieskau was defeated & killed." †

"The Baron Dieskau was severely wounded & afterwards a soldier shot him." ‡

"Johnson & Lyman repelled the French & mortally wounded Dieskau." §

"Dieskau was taken prisoner and died in England of his wounds." ||

"Dieskau was carried a prisoner to the American camp, but ultimately died of his wounds," ¶ and the writer adds, p. 270, "the campaign in which Dieskau was defeated & slain."

And another distinguished author writes "he was mortally wounded." **

Per contra one of his military companions gives a very different and perhaps not friendly version of the affair. He says: "Dieskau was taken to New York where he was healed of his two wounds by a good English surgeon. He was long under treatment & they sent him in the winter to France." "The Court to reward this man sent him to Canada in the following campaign as Commissary of War. On his return to France his accusations gained him more favors from the Court," ††—all of which, except his going to New York and that *two of his* wounds

* Pouchot, "Mission," II., p. 29.

† "A History of the American People," A. Gilman, p. 188.

‡ "A Brief History of the Un. States," p. 36.

§ Parsons' "Life of Sir Wm. Pepperrell," p.

280.

| Ellis H. Roberts' "New York," p. 233.

¶ W. Irving, "Life of Washington," II., p.

243.

** Bancroft, "Hist. Un. States," V. 2, p. 435.

†† Pouchot, II., pp. 50, 51.

were healed, is according to Dieskau's own relation incorrect and not noticed by Hough, the translator of Pouchot's "Memoir." According to his letters he was to go from the English camp to Orange (Albany) September 16,* and to New York October 13,† which he left March 1756 and after a three weeks' voyage arrived at Falmouth, England, April 7. Being advised to drink the Bath waters he must go by sea to London as he cannot bear a carriage.‡ He wrote from Bath August 5, to Marshal de Belle Isle, the new minister of war, a mournful letter depicting his sad condition. Sick and without resources except 100 guineas received from Lord Barrington, his draft for the payment of which on the Secretary of the Marine was sent back protested, abandoned by the court . . ., with repeated offers to return to France on his parole but cannot return without the Minister's permission.§ "He was not exchanged till the Peace of 1763."¶

In the "Paris Documents" succeeding I find no farther account of his exile in England or of his life after his return to France. Diderot makes frequent mention in his letters in 1760 of visits and conversations with Dieskau, recites various incidents in his military service under Marshal Saxe and in Canada, and his painful wounds and disabilities "under which he *lives, if you call that living.*"¶

The following epitaph closes the career of suffering of this unfortunate officer. "Baron Dieskau died from the effects of his wounds received at Lake George (September 8, 1755) on the 8th of September, 1767, at Turenne in France" **—just twelve years after the battle, and this explains the idea of authors of "a mortal wound."

Confused statements are made as to his successor. One says, "the French command fell to *Montcalm* after the death of Dieskau." †† Another that "after the death of Baron Dieskau the preceding year *Montcalm* took command of the Canadian forces." ‡‡

Instead "M. de Montreuil (not *calm*) aid major general with the brevet of lieutenant-general was left in command." §§ He received orders at once from Dieskau on the field to take the command, and his service and dispatches home and all contemporaneous authorities agree in this.

Montcalm was appointed chief in command *the next year* and arrived at Quebec May 13, 1756, ||| having Chevalier de Levis 1st and Chevalier Bourlamaque 2d in rank. Montreuil served under De Levis with credit to the end of the war.

OLIVER P. HUBBARD

NEW YORK, FEB. 28.

* Doc. Col. Hist., N. Y., V. X., 318.

† Ib. 535. ‡ Ib. 537. § Ib. 806. || Ib. 340.

¶ Diderot, Vol. 19, "Letters," Paris, 1760.

** Stone's "Life of Sir Wm. Johnson," 2, p. 290.

†† Gilman's History, p. 188.

‡‡ Life of Pepperrell, p. 290.

§§ Pouchot, V. 1, p. 51.

||| His letter to Count Argenson, Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y., V. X., p. 399.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON'S NEW COAT

Unpublished letter of Governor George Clinton, in possession of W. E. Benjamin

Pokeepsie, 6th 1783.

Dear Taylor

I send you by the Bearer 2½ yds. superfine Fashionable Cloath, Lining, Silk, & Twist, Buttons. I am not certain I can get to suit, if I can they shall be sent. Yours would not answer and I have disposed of them to the troops. Buttons of the cloath will be best if you can have them made and a little embroidered. The colour I beg leave to inform you is not my fancy but on council called upon the occasion consisting of Ducky, and Ducky's Husband, Mrs Clinton, Colonel and Barron Benson, who taking all Circumstances into due consideration, it was determined (Mrs Clinton only dissenting and she not so positive as to insist on her protest being entered) that the present was the most genteel and fashionable, and therefore the most proper for Colonel Taylor. This cloath is certainly of good quality, and I should add a half yard which makes it sufficient for a coat and vest, which I hope will be agreeable. I begg you will not mention a word of the difference in the quantity. What you spend perfectly suits me. My best respects to Mrs Taylor, &c.

Report this morning says that Colonel Scammel has flogged De Lancey and captured 200 or 300 persons; his loss 40 or 50 killed and wounded.

Yours sincerely

Geo Clinton

Mrs Clinton since writing the within insists on my purchasing a coat of the same—not that she has changed her opinion of the colour but that she might have the honor of seeing her Husband dressed in the same cloath with the Colonel, and she shall be gratified.

Unpublished Letter from Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt

From the Van Cortlandt Papers, through the courtesy of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt

May 27th 1776

Son Philip

I have Rec^d 2 Letters, one of the 10th the other of the 16th of May, have sent your Keys by M^r Van Vleck Kipp to be left at Coll. Renselaer's. The *Petiager* is gone up again, suppose the last trip with stores, &c. We are here all well, hope to hear from you as opportunity offers. D^r Franklin Lodged here Saturday

Night last. Well satisfied. Lent him a horse to go the next stage. Must refer you for news to the Papers, Saw Doc^r Haviland at John Mandevills to meet you, agreeable to your letter, I could then tell him nothing more than that I expected you. It's likely I shall go to Congress this week, if I should have any Particulars to Request, John Morin Scott is a proper person, he is constantly There. We all join in Love.

Your Loving Father
Pierre Van Cortlandt

GEN'L JEFFRY AMHERST'S ORDERS

Written by Ensign Levi Taylor of Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1759

[Contributed by James E. Coley]

Crown Point,
Nov. 9th 1759.

A "feu d' joi" to be fired to-morrow, for the king's birth-day, and for ye very good success that has pleased God to grant to his Majesty's arms and fleets during ye course of this present year.

As ye season is so far advanced that it admits of no delay in regaining the fortress for ye garrison that ye army may go into winter quarters, ye men are to work to-morrow as usual, but are to leave off at three o'clock :

Ye grenadiers of ye army are to be under arms at 10 o'clock. Col. Haviland will receive his orders from ye General. When ye enemy gives fire, the line is to turn out instantly under arms upon the left of Gage's—Whiting on the left of Wooster's, & Ruggles' 21 Battalion—their right to Whiting's left, & ye grenadiers will close in towards ye right or ye left of ye Light Infantry, to make room for ye back corps. Begin soon after gun is fired. Gage's Light Infantry is to fire 7 guns, followed by ye same number of ye Light Infantries' Regiment and their fort ; & then ye Grenadier's fort. In ye like manner ye corps then fire a volley, each beginning By ye Royals & following Late, Brideaux, Innis, Skillings. Regulars by Montgomery's, Late, Forbes, Schyler, Fitch, Babcock, Gage's, Wooster's, Whiting's, Ruggles' 21 Battalion grenadiers.

Right fortress then to fire 21 guns at ye left gun, all of ye Reg'ts to make ready and fire a running fire from right to left, beginning on ye right hand of ye Regulars, and ending on ye left of Light Regiments. Ye pack is then to fire 21 guns, after which a signal gun will be fired from ye fortress which is for ye whole line to make ready and to present ; and on ye second gun from ye fortress, ye whole will fire a general fire in a volley, then give three hussas. Ye regiments then to return into their camp, and rum, with two barrels of beer to each corps before mentioned (ye Artillery & Rangers,) that each man in the army may drink the King's health, ye only after Rangers & Guards are not to fire.

NOTES

THE FEDERAL CHEESE OF 1802—In the *Life of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, recently published, the following extract from his diary appears: "Jan. 1, 1802, Friday. Although the President has no levees, a number of Federalists agreed to go from the Capitol in coaches to the President's house, and wait upon him, with the compliments of the season. We were received with politeness, entertained with cake and wine. The mammoth cheese having been presented this morning, the President invited us to go, as he expressed it, 'To the Mammoth room, and see the Mammoth cheese.' There we viewed this monument of human weakness as long as we pleased, then returned." In a foot note is the following explanation: "When Jefferson was chosen President, Elder John Leland [a Baptist clergyman from Cheshire, Massachusetts,] proposed that his flock should celebrate the victory by making for the new chief magistrate the biggest cheese the world had ever seen. Every man and woman who owned a cow was to give for this cheese all the milk yielded on a certain day—only no *Federal cow* must contribute a drop. A huge cider press was fitted up to make it in, and on the appointed day the whole country turned out with pails and tubs of curd, the girls and women in their best gowns and ribbons, and the men in their Sunday coats and clean shirt collars. The cheese was put to press with prayer, and hymn-singing and great solemnity. When it was well dried it weighed 1600 pounds. It was placed on a sleigh, and Elder John Leland drove with it all the way to Washington.

It was a journey of three weeks. All the country had heard of the big cheese, and came out to look at it as the Elder drove along."

CENTENNIAL WORK IN OHIO—The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, at Columbus, has prepared a "Program of Exercises for Centennial Day, April 7, 1888," for "Use in All the Schools of Ohio." It contains appropriate selections of prose and poetry to be committed by pupils for recitation, concert exercises of readings, subjects for essays, lists of books for reading, consultation, etc., musical selections, etc., arranged so that any ordinary school can, by using it, hold a pleasant, entertaining and instructive exercise, commemorative of the day when the Northwest Territory, as well as Ohio, was settled by Americans. It is expected to make April 7th of each year, to the people of Ohio and the Northwest, what Plymouth Day is to Massachusetts and to New England. The question is pertinently asked, "What can be more appropriate and instructive than an exercise in all the schools—county, village, town and city—than a Centennial Day in which all the children can participate and be not only entertained but instructed?"

ENCOURAGEMENTS TO HIGH CULTURE—In his inaugural address a few months since, as president of Lake Forest University, the Rev. Dr. William C. Roberts, in speaking of the proper encouragement of high scholarship in the American University, called attention to the fact that "it had been found neces-

sary in every age and country, to offer something in the way of inducement to study." He said, "The most complete system of prizes is that in vogue in Germany. Some may object to them on the ground that the first scholars, according to popular belief, do not turn out in the end as well as those who did not distinguish themselves in college. Whilst this may be true of an individual here and there, it cannot be laid down as an established fact. A large number of well-known names of our own countrymen might be mentioned who distinguished themselves first in the class-room. It is safe to say that the majority of our scholars, ministers, statesmen, physicians and authors who have become famous in their respective spheres, were men of marked and acknowledged ability in college. This is equally true of our cousins across the sea. Lord Macaulay tells us that there never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence or a more unvaried experience than this: that men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries almost always keep to the end of their lives the start which they have gained. Take the Oxford calendar and compare the list of first-class men with an equal number in the third class. 'Is not our history,' he

asks, 'full of instances which prove this fact? Look at the Church or the Bar. Look at Parliament from the time that parliamentary government began in this country—from the days of Montague and St. John to those of Canning and Robert Peel. Look to India. The ablest man who ever governed India was Warren Hastings; was he not in the front rank at Westminster? The general rule is, beyond all doubt, that the men who were first in the competition of the schools, have been first in the competition of the world.'"

BLINDLY WRITTEN SIGNATURES—It may be the proper thing for bank presidents, cashiers and congressmen to scrawl their names in the hen-track fashion, but men who write for a living read enough writing to know better than to puzzle correspondents with blindly written signatures. If a man is constitutionally unable to write his name and address plainly, he should use letter paper with a printed heading containing the desirable information. Bad writers often forget that while a dubious word in the middle of a sentence may be deciphered with the help of its neighbors, nothing goes with the signature on which to base even so much as a surmise.—*The Writer.*

QUERIES

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY—Where can records or works be found which relate to the "Virginia State Navy" in the War of the Revolution, and of the troops of that state at the same period?

W. H.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHURCH WORSHIP—Editor *Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers inform me in what church in Europe Roman Catholic and Protestant services are held at the same time?

M. B. C.

RICHMOND, VA.

REPLIES

THE MOUND BUILDERS [xix, 260]—To definitely answer the inquiry, Who were they? would be to settle a heretofore undetermined question. The most enlightened information we have on the subject tends toward the conclusion that they were a horticultural people. They excelled in the working of metals, the making of pottery, and in the finish of their stone implements. Under this title are grouped the unknown tribes who raised the great embankments and earth-structures from which they derived the name Mound Builders. They had entirely disappeared at the time the first European landed on this Continent.

The mystery of their origin, their habits, manners and customs are left entirely to such deductions as can justly be made from the remains of their earth-structures, their graves, fabrics, implements and pottery. Imperfect as these are, they have enabled the archæologist to weave a consistent and logical fabric concerning the origin of the people. They can safely be classed among the Village Indians, and in the migration of the Village Indians from the valley of the Rio Grande or the San Juan they spread as far northward as the valley of the Ohio. In the Scioto Valley, in Ohio, the remains of seven villages of the Mound Builders were found within an area of twelve miles; and Professor O. C. Marsh, in the comparison of Indian skulls made by him, was greatly impressed with the similarity between those of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and of the Mound Builders. The coincidence was particularly striking, as the skulls of the Mound Builders are very peculiar. The

now generally accepted theory is that their immediate anterior home was New Mexico. The embankments were undoubtedly the site of their dwellings; but for what purpose they built such vast earth-structures is a question yet unanswered by any positive evidence, although many conjectural explanations have been satisfactorily given.

Lewis H. Morgan in a most valuable monograph on the subject, advanced a conjectural explanation of the objects and uses of the embankments, placing its acceptance on the ground of inherent probability. "It will be founded," he says, "on the assumption that the Mound Builders were horticultural village Indians, who had emigrated from beyond the Mississippi; that as such they had been accustomed to live in houses of adobe bricks, like those found in New Mexico; that they had become habituated to living upon their roof terraces or elevated platforms, and in large households; and that their houses were in the nature of fortresses, in consequence of the insecurity in which they lived. Further than this, that before they emigrated to the valley of the Ohio they were accustomed to snow, and to a moderate degree of winter cold; wore skin garments, and possibly woven mantles of cotton, as the Cibolans of New Mexico did at the time of the Coronado's expedition. The food of the New Mexicans, at this early time consisted of maize, beans, and squashes, and a limited amount of game, which was doubtless the food of the Mound Builders."

CLIFFORD A. H. BARTLETT

THE MOUND-BUILDERS [xix, 260]—These people seem to have been a very different race of people from the North American Indians. It is thought by some that the Aztecs, found in Mexico by Cortez, and the ancient Peruvians, whose empire was destroyed by Pizarro, may have been remnants of the Mound-Builders, who were driven south by invading hordes from the other continent across Behring's Strait. Of the mounds, or tumuli, it is said that ten thousand are found in the State of Ohio alone. Some of these have evidently been built as mausoleums, others for defense, still others as altars on which to offer sacrifice.

There is one mound near Newark, Ohio, that is a mile in circumference—a perfect circle—and some twenty feet high. It is large enough to accommodate the county fair of the Agricultural Society; and trees of such magnitude have grown upon it as to lead to the belief that it was built before the time of Columbus.

A. B. C.

LANGUAGE—[xviii, 539; xix, 85]—"What king could not speak the language of the people over whom he ruled?" is a query that may find an answer in Prescott's *Philip the Second*.

The historian says that Philip, a Spaniard, addressed the States-General through the mouth of the Bishop of Arras, being unacquainted with the language of the people of the Netherlands.

J. F. TOWELL

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

MATCHCOAT—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Some time ago a discussion was started concerning the meaning of the word "matchcoat," frequently used in colonial days.

The following paragraph from the New York Council Minutes of November 12, 1700 (Vol. VIII., p. 183), will help to settle the question:

"Ordered that six Watchcoats with Capouches be provided by Coll^o Cortlandt for the Souldiers to keep them warm in the winter when they are on the Centry."

It seems evident, that Matchcoat is only a misspelling of Watchcoat.

FERNOW

STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY, N. Y.

SIR HENRY WOTTON—[xix, 261]—In reference to the lines by Sir Henry Wotton, printed in the March issue, the name of the poet was unhappily misprinted *Walton*. It should have been as above.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the society held on the evening of the 6th inst., the president, Hon. John A. King occupied the chair. Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, on behalf of the Executive Committee, reported in answer to a communication from the committee charged with the erection of a national monument to Lafayette, that the statues of Rochambeau, Du Portail, d'Estaing and De Grasse be recommended to surround the principal figure. It was announced that since the last meeting, 171 books, 37 pamphlets, 17 maps, and 2 manuscripts had been added to the collection. Mr. Nicholas Fish was elected to represent the society at the centennial celebration of Marietta, Ohio. The paper of the evening by Mr. R. S. Guernsey, entitled, "The History of the City of New York in the War of 1812," was read by the librarian, Mr. Isham. The essay abounded in graphic descriptions of scenes in the city receptions, public dinners, parades, and the obsequies of Lawrence and Ludlow, concluding with the system of fortification and picturing the universal joy on the reception of the news of peace. Major Gardiner, on moving a vote of thanks, added some interesting anecdotes. Dr. Moore, in behalf of the Executive Committee, called the attention of the society to the establishment by Joseph F. Loubat, LL.D., of a triennial prize of 3,000 francs to be awarded by the French Institute for the best work on American History, Geography, Archæology, Ethnology, Languages or Numismatics, on condition that copies of the work be sent to the

society and to Columbia College. A suitable resolution was adopted expressing the society's appreciation of this timely benevolence on the part of a member in the promotion of American history and literature. The society then adjourned.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of March 6, President William Gammell in the chair, Mr. James Phinney Baxter, of Portland, Maine, read an exhaustive and interesting paper before this society on the early voyages made to the continent of America. Mr. Baxter is very well-known through his valuable contributions to history, and also through his late generous gift of \$100,000 to the Maine Historical Society, to be used in conjunction with the Portland Public Library, for a new building. He said the history of this country previous to its discovery by Europeans was veiled in mystery. Athanasius Kircher has given the Egyptians the credit of colonizing it; Edward Breevewood contends that the Tartars are entitled to that credit; Marc Les-carbot strives to show that the Canaanites, driven out by Joshua, emigrated hither; that Noah was a native of this country, and was borne back to his ancestral home by the flood. The first serious attempt to trace a discoverer of America is made by De Guignes, who, thinks the Chinese discovered the continent in the seventh century. Mr. Baxter described the wonderful mounds at Marietta, Ohio, in the Muskingum valley, where St. Louis now stands, at Isle Royal, and on the northern shores of

Lake Superior. A writer says the mound-builders are among the most wonderful people who ever lived in America. Their works are compared with those of the Pelasgi in Greece and Italy. Not only are vessels, implements and utensils but textile fabrics also found in these ancient mounds. He took note also of another claim, viz., that of the Scandinavian occupation of America, and gave an account of the writings of the Sagas. The Sagamen were the literati of their time. It was so difficult, however, to obtain dried skins, etc., upon which to write that not much in this way was effected before the thirteenth century. The Scandinavians were not in the habit of building mounds, and it is hardly to be supposed that Scandinavian earthworks would survive the inroads of the centuries. But while there was not much doubt that the Scandinavian claim to the pre-occupation of the American continent was a valid one, Mr. Baxter thought the credit practically of the discovery of America belonged to Columbus, and there was no desire to rob Columbus of the honor; previous discoveries of America were not made at a time when the world was ready to receive and benefit by them.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At its annual meeting, the president, Rev. Dr. Hamill, made some very interesting statements concerning the origin and work of this society. It was the result, he said, of the meeting of a company of gentlemen at Newark in January, 1845. Of the seventeen original officers, the only surviving one is Justice Bradley, of the United States Supreme Court. The

society has done much to develop and preserve in a permanent form the history of New Jersey, which may be called with especial propriety the battle-ground of the American Revolution. Every acre of the central belt from the Delaware to the Hudson is sacred to the cause of freedom. At the afternoon session Judge Ricord read a paper by Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., of Plainfield, on "The Hessians in New Jersey—Just a Little in Their Favor." The object of the paper was to show that great injustice was done the Hessians by the current traditions concerning their cruelties. Attention was called to the fact that their sympathies were often with the Americans, whom they were forced against their will to fight, and numerous instances were given of kind treatment and gentlemanly behavior on the part of both officers and men.

Dr. Pennington related an incident which corroborated the tenor of the paper, to the effect that the Hessians were a much-abused people. General Rusling argued that the verdict of their contemporaries was more probably correct, and said that in his judgment the "Hessians remained Hessians still."

THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY met on the 13th December at their handsome apartments in the Watkins Institute, at Nashville, Hon. John M. Lea presiding, to listen to a very able and interesting paper by General G. P. Thurston, a gentleman of great culture and general reading, who has given the subject of the early inhabitants of Tennessee careful and discriminating study for many years. Nothing that has been written

on the subject has escaped his attention. He thinks the Indians found in Tennessee were the descendants of the mound-builders. He says that no city in America is a more favored centre for antiquarian research than Nashville, which is surrounded by monuments and memorials of ancient life.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its regular semi-monthly meeting at 64 Madison Avenue on Friday evening, March 9, the president, Gen. James Grant Wilson, occupied the chair, and a large number of members and invited guests were present to listen to an address by Mr. Elias Boudinot Servoss on "The Life and Times of John Pintard." Mr. Pintard, a descendant of Antoine Pintard, a Huguenot who was driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was born in New York City in 1759. Inheriting large wealth which he lost through his endeavors to assist in strengthening the financial credit of the government after the close of the Revolution, he set himself resolutely at work to retrieve his fallen fortunes, and by his energy, judgment and force of character, became one of the prominent men of his day. He was an intimate friend of De Witt Clinton, and the copious extracts from his diary which Mr. Servoss gave threw much light upon Clinton's personal and social characteristics. Mr.

Pintard had dealings with many famous men, and was concerned more or less directly in affairs of importance, such as the acquisition of Louisiana, and the opening of the great West. Mr. Pintard said of President Jefferson's inaugural address: "I have little doubt in my mind that this speech will conciliate all parties and allay the general fermentation which attended the election. It was a matter of infinite regret to me to observe the trifling conduct, to say no worse, of the House of Representatives in deciding its choice of a President. Our national dignity was lowered in the eyes of foreigners. Those of my countrymen who are less attached to men than principles must recognize that the contest is decided. The Federalists may finally be satisfied with the election of Mr. Jefferson, as the opposition of their antagonists to the measures of government must now subside. The citizens of the United States will be convinced that under whatever administration, government must be supported, taxes must exist, and discontent will prevail."

Mr. Pintard was much interested in literary and historical studies, and was one of the founders of the New York Historical Society. He died in 1845, at the age of 86.

Mr. Servoss' paper was received with attentive interest, and at its conclusion he was tendered the thanks of the society.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The truthful record of New York's great blizzard of March 12, 1888, will read like a magnificent fable in the years to come. Nothing could be more picturesque, thrilling, and seemingly improbable than the actual experience which has befallen the chief city on this continent. A snowstorm, coming without preamble or note of warning, took possession of every street and avenue, sweeping them clear of traffic, stopping the horse cars, blocking the elevated roads, crippling every means of transportation from one part of Manhattan Island to the other, closing the post-office, the exchanges, the banks, and the great business houses; breaking the telegraph and telephone wires, piling into drifts mountain high in all manner of inconvenient places, and pelting and blinding and choking courageous pedestrians with its sharp-edged particles of powdered ice.

The broad prairies of the far West may no longer boast of their superiority over the Atlantic coast in the way of a genuine, overwhelming winter blizzard. Even Chicago cannot excel the metropolis in the magnitude of her combination of adverse elements on special occasions—always excepting fires; nor in the success of a tempest of wind, snow and ice to cut off all communication with an outside world. The trains on all the railroads, from the north, south, east and west, failed to reach New York City. There were no mails, no produce, no meat, no milk, no money, no people pouring into the great channels of distribution and thoroughfares. The blizzard captured all the cars within thirty miles of New York City.

The railroad president Chauncey M. Depew was reported to have said that "the New York blizzard was even tougher than an after-dinner speech." The Grand Central station was completely isolated; there were no incoming or outgoing trains, and the telegraph wires were of no avail. The storm had everything its own way. President Depew and Superintendent Toucey made various efforts during the first memorable day of the storm to reach and relieve the forty or fifty trains held captive by the enemy; they sent one engine after another to the north, but the track was so successfully barricaded with "beautiful snow" that no headway could be made and each returned with wilted colors. The general surrender of the city of New York to the merciless attack of an unheralded foe was complete. Business in all branches stood still, totally suspended, and the consequent losses will amount to many millions.

"Those who are not acquainted with the past have a very shallow knowledge of the present," was the trite remark of a distinguished lecturer on a recent occasion. "History affords, without artificial preparation, an insight into human affairs, characters, aspirations, and destinies, particularly in their combinations, as they appear in the affairs of the state. It gives knowledge of man, creates ethical judgment, promotes political education. A study of history fits our children for a place in the world better than any 'bread-and-butter study' will," are the wise words of L. R. Klemm, Ph.D., in his "Educational Topics of the Day."

The history of our country seems to be coming to the front on every side. If the importance of its study could be properly appreciated by teachers, not only in our colleges and high schools, but in every institution great and small throughout the length and breadth of the land, there would be a greatly improved outlook for the rising generation. History is by no means something which any amateur may read up to-day, and teach to-morrow. The teacher must first be taught. "The study of history should begin early," says Professor Klemm: "The rising generation must get historical knowledge, if not for other reasons, certainly for the purpose of preserving the Republic, and perpetuating its free institutions. The future can be read between the lines of the record of the past. History unfolds before our eyes a picture of what past generations thought, aspired to, and accomplished. History shows us our own errors: and these are all the more readily seen, since it offers us a standard of measurement in the errors of other nations. . . . People who learn no other history than that of their own country, lose the best and most significant part of history. . . . The boy who claimed that Washington was the first man, upon being reminded of Adam, said, 'Oh, well, if you count foreigners in.'—That boy is not an imaginary creation; we may find him in all classes of society, and in every part of the Union."

When the late Joseph R. Bodwell was elected governor of Maine, he had resided in the state nearly forty years, and was more familiar than almost any other man with her great material interests. He was, furthermore, acquainted with the responsible duties attached to his new and important office. Maine never had a more able, conscientious and painstaking chief magistrate. The calls upon his time and his energies were incessant. He gave himself scarcely any vacations or periods of rest. He was well born, well bred, eminently well disciplined for public life, a man of taste, broad intelligence, excellent judgment, great executive ability, and abounding with the best qualities of head and heart. His business sagacity had formed the strong foundation for the immense granite works of Hallowell. Agriculture, manufactures, railroads—every enterprise of public importance—had received substantial aid from his hand. His death is deeply mourned by all classes in every part of the great state of Maine, over which he ruled so wisely and so well.

Rev. S. M. Hamill, D.D., President of the New Jersey Historical Society, said in his eloquent address on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the ratification of the Constitution, at New Brunswick: "History is simply a record of facts, men make history and history records the doings of man. 'Tis true that rocks and rills and rivers, lakes and seas, mountains and valleys, town and country, surging ocean and bursting volcanoes, grand cañons and lofty, snow-capped peaks, the wild beasts of the forest, the fowls of the air and the fish of the sea, with all their thrilling incidents, silent though they be, have their part in making up the grand aggregate of history. Yet it is man, active, thinking, reflective and intelligent, that makes history and gives it tone and vitality and character. He finds the raw material and furnishes the warp and woof, and weaves the web of history. Sometimes it may be with axe and pick and shovel, or with plow and sickle and reaper, or by ships that sweep the sea, or trains that rush over the land with lightning speed, by inventive genius or mighty intellect, by bayonet, sword and musketry, and all the dreadful enginery of war, by laying hold of the electric current and with giant hand bringing it under control, and making it tributary to the purposes and enterprises of men, illuminating the great centres of trade, and sending its brilliant rays along the pathway

of commerce, and making near neighbors of men who are separated by half the circuit of the globe. By the peaceful pen man makes his record of what man has done, and sends it down through the rapidly flying course of time from century to century, and from generation to generation, to make its impression on those who follow.

From what man has done successive generations learn what man should do, and what he should leave undone. The centuries past come down to us as great teachers. They spread out their massive tomes for our inspection and benefit, with lessons of wisdom on every page. They abound with valuable instruction. We do well to study and study thoroughly the lessons they give us. History teaches by example. The historian masses his facts, and sometimes to our amazement hurls them into our midst with overwhelming force. Deeds of the past plunging into the present come down upon us like an avalanche, covering all that lies beneath it, or like a tornado tearing up root and branch all that lies before it, or like a huge train on a down grade, smashing to fury what stands in its way, thus breaking up theories and speculations and fanciful schemes, and changing entirely the current of human thought and action.

Men are profoundly interested in history. They feel an honest pride in their own and in that of their ancestors, especially if it be of the right sort.

One incident of New York's great blizzard week will be remembered with pleasure by a host of its citizens of intellectual and social prominence, long after the discomforts of the snow and New York's three days' isolation from the outside world have been forgotten. On March 15, a reception was given at the Madison Square Theatre in honor of Henry Irving, the eminent English actor, by the Goethe Society, whose object as is well known is to study the works of the great German poet. This compliment to Irving was an expression not only of the society's appreciation of his genius, but a graceful acknowledgment of his admirable presentation upon the stage of the most famous of Goethe's poems—the tragedy of "Faust." It is rarely that so intelligent and brilliant an audience grace any public occasion in the metropolis. Every person present was the specially invited guest of the society, a seat having been assigned to each with as much precision as at a stately dinner-party. The pretty theatre was decorated with evergreens and flowers, and on the centre of the first balcony were tastefully draped the entwined flags of the United States and Great Britain. The stage, set as a library, presented a very handsome appearance.

Parke Godwin, the president of the Goethe Society, opened the exercises with an eloquent address. He described the life and works of Goethe and, in referring to the dramatic art, explained the various modes in which it acquires its hold of the general mind by its appropriations of the riches and charms of other arts, and superadding to them riches and charms of its own, and by its appeal to the whole nature of man, his intellect, his emotions, and his senses. "Nothing is more interesting to man than man, and the drama reveals him to himself, in all the varieties of his social conditions." Mr. Godwin further said: "Dramatic art is, like all the other arts, susceptible of perversion and abuse. This gem of purest ray serene may be worked into offensive shapes, as the meaning of a statue sometimes stains the white purity of its material, as brilliant and gorgeous coloring may be used for purposes which provoke and justify the rude remedies of Mr. Comstock—as music, which, if it were not born in heaven, breathes the celestial air, may voice the ribald hilarity of the bacchanal or the dissolute egoism of the voluptuary. All the more important is it, because of this liability to fall, to hold it up to its highest levels. That is

the significance of our meeting here to-day. It is the motive of my interest in the occasion. It seems to me, as it has seemed to our society, that diversions which are irresistible in attractions ought to be made irreproachable in character. Every night, in all our great cities and in nearly all our larger towns, hundreds and thousands of persons, of all classes and of nearly all ages, are drawn to the theatres. Let us hold up the hands of those who are endeavoring to keep the dramatic art to its loftiest standard. We have here to-day a gentleman who has spent the greater part of his life largely in that effort. Gifted with extraordinary abilities which have raised him to the topmost round of his profession as an interpreter of Shakespeare and other plays, and as a manager, he has brought to his aid the good taste of a student. He has brought to the stage the best he could command and none whom he ought not to bring there. For this he has received in his own country the praise and friendship of the most scrupulous minds, and his success in this country is a testimony to the same effect. Goldsmith, in his poem of 'Retaliation,' when he said of Garrick that it was only when off the stage he was acting, he paid a compliment to the actor and gave a fling at the man. Mr. Irving deserved the compliment, but not the fling. For off the stage he is the plain and modest scholar, the frank and unaffected gentleman, and the genial and generous friend, and the qualities which endear him to his private acquaintances add to his professional triumphs." Mr. Godwin closed with an eloquent tribute to the honored guest of the day; and to his great helper, the ever charming, graceful and talented Miss Ellen Terry.

Mr. Irving in his thoughtful, scholarly, and entertaining response before the Goethe Society on this memorable afternoon said: "It is not just to assume either that the public taste is degraded because it does not touch an ideal standard at every point, or that one fixed canon of taste can be applied to the drama, even in cultivated society. The theatre must always be the playground of a variety of sympathies and the arena of all manner of conflicting judgments. Even amongst educated people the standard of taste in theatrical matters is extremely variable. Some are interested in Shakespeare, but only in his comedy: 'Hamlet' bores them, but they are delighted by 'Much Ado About Nothing.' Others care little for what is called the legitimate drama, but prefer lighter forms of entertainment, which to play-goers of a serious cast are purely frivolous. Others, again, have a strong partiality for a certain kind of melodrama: they like to be harrowed by tremendous situations and amused by spectacular effects. Indeed, you may take a man of cultivated mind and discover that his taste for the theatre is extremely primitive. Even genius is sometimes erratic in its appreciation of the stage. Goethe himself had astonishing ideas about Shakespeare. If there was one thing which Shakespeare understood better than any other, it was the law of dramatic effect; yet Goethe thought it necessary to reconstruct 'Romeo and Juliet,' and in 'Wilhelm Meister' the players find it impossible to perform 'Hamlet' without making Horatio son of the King of Norway. When I refreshed my memory of this episode, it occurred to me that a manager who should ever be accused of taking liberties with 'Faust' might console himself with the reflection that they were rather overshadowed by the liberties which Goethe took with Shakespeare. We must consider that the theatre gives a rare stimulus to every sort of mind. Its pictorial effects alone make an artistic education and afford a world of delight to a multitude whose imagination finds little food in their daily lives; it rouses dormant sympathies and makes war on idle prejudices; it presents with vivid force the simplest elements of life to all, and makes real to many some of the highest poetry. It is nothing to the purpose that some phases of the stage which do not correspond exactly to this description should be pointed

out. Broadly speaking what I say is true, and is an estimate of the functions of the theatre which is borne out by the best experience. You will see, therefore, how important it is that an institution which exercises such wide and varied influences should have all its agencies developed to the highest utility.

What is necessary on the stage is a harmony of all its features—a union of all its refinements. It is not enough to give an individual performance of consummate interest, for, in a double sense, the whole is greater than the part. Let everything have its due proportion; let thoroughness and completeness be the manager's aim; let him never forget that a perfect illusion is his highest achievement."

The closing remarks were by the eminent scholar and orator, George William Curtis, and were gracefully conceived and charmingly uttered. He said: "It is very easy to rise from my chair, but it is not easy to rise to a fitting and adequate expression of our appreciation and admiration of the great services rendered by the great artist of the theatre to the public taste, the public education, the public morals, and the public pleasure. When I recall the various characters and figures that his power affects, and which for an enchanted moment left before our eyes the king, the vicar, the dual man, the haunted man, Shakespeare's immortal bachelor, Shakespeare's melancholy prince, the gay, rollicking, jingling vagabond, and the devil himself, and all these in their proper station, the perfumed palace, the bustling street, the rural home, and even lurid glimpses of the unmentionable place, I recall the spell which has been laid upon us all, and recall that felicitous skill which seizes the poet's fancies and gives them shapes, and gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name. In every one of your minds his triumphs are renewed. And yet, Mr. President, there is one triumph which we hardly thought could be achieved by any man in this city—the city of Wouter van Twiller, William the Testy, and Diederich Knickerbocker their veracious historian—upon the shores of the Hudson, where still, in the long summer afternoon, we can hear far away the thunder of the games that Rip Van Winkle saw. Here, almost within the very valley where Ichabod Crane fled from the headless horseman and abandoned the fair Katrina to his embrace, our friend has wrought a miracle to us New-Yorkers incredible, investing with a fresh interest and a new thrill the name of Irving.

Ladies and gentlemen, a great artist in a foreign country is an ambassador of peace and good will. I remember a very distinguished gentleman who said of an English minister accredited to this country that he was a very excellent and admirable man, but that he did not represent the England that he knew. Our artist ambassador, happier than his political prototype, does represent the England that we know and those interests of the intellect and of the imagination which bind nations more closely, and about which nations never quarrel as they quarrel about fisheries and territorial boundaries. He comes to us accredited from the England of letters and art, of Shakespeare and the romantic drama, from that in which by a delightful and undisputed home rule and right of genius divine Garrick and Kemble and Kean are kings, and Oldfield, Peg Woffington, and Mrs. Siddons are kings and queens, and I think we have recognized, not by the strawberry mark upon his arm, but by the laurel upon his brow, that he is of the same lineage; while I am sure that he has discovered that to the sparkling sceptre he carries American citizens may be quite as loyal as British subjects, and if during his sojourn among us he has discovered that we Yankees have sometimes a jealousy of England, I doubt not that he has also learned that it is because we are 'so English, you know.'"

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 701. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887. New York.

This book is not designed for technical students alone, but for intelligent readers generally. Professor Fisher has brought the most important facts of church history during the past eighteen centuries into the compass of a moderate sized and very readable volume, skillfully avoiding the cataloguing treatment to which condensation on such a broad scale often leads. The flow of the author's narrative is free and easy, as if he had mastered all his facts and marshaled them into their perfect places in a grand system of movement. He has not written from a denominational standpoint, although he writes as a Protestant, nor does he enter into discussions of perplexed and mooted points—where scholars, bigots and sectarians have never ceased disputing with each other.

The scope and division of the vast stretch of time covered by this church history is admirable. "It is not definite quantities of time, but turning points in the course of events, that should determine the dividing lines," says the author; and his pen falls naturally into three principal eras—ancient, mediæval, and modern. The proportion of part to part, of which there is no severer test of the historian's peculiar power and critical judgment, has been achieved with the most satisfactory results. Considerable space is given to the religious denominations of the United States, and to the progress of Christian philanthropy. Professor Fisher says: "It is remarkable that in connection with an increased activity in building up the separate denominations, there has been developed in them, severally, a disposition to enter into closer relations of fraternal sympathy and intercourse with other Christian bodies. Great doctrinal conflicts which raged at a former day, like those of Arminianism and Calvinism, have subsided. Even the standing controversy of Protestantism and the Church of Rome is waged with a better appreciation on either side of that which is deserving of respect in the adverse party, and a juster estimate of the weight to be attached to the points held in common." Professor Fisher's volume reproduces all the essential features of the many church histories of more elaborate design and greater magnitude of detail, and is fully abreast in scholarship. It will be read by multitudes who, because of the shortness of life and its crowded duties, could never find time for the larger works. Its literary merit, its breadth of information, and its historical accuracy, will in-

sure for it a wide and appreciative circulation. A feature of the volume worthy of special note is an Appendix giving a list of the General Councils, and also of all the popes from Gregory I. to Leo XIII. It has also a good Index.

THE UNITED STATES OF YESTERDAY AND OF TO-MORROW. By WILLIAM BARROWS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 432. Boston, 1888. Roberts Brothers.

This book, we are told by its author, has been written to answer a variety of questions in relation to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Pacific. Dr. Barrows having spent much of his life in the far West, and carefully studied all the phases of its development, has been frequently solicited for authentic information. He takes a serious view of our national growth, and writes his best passages from the Christian outlook. His chapters on "Pioneering in Education," and "Lynch Law," are among the most informing in the work. As to the "Railway System of the West," he says: "California and Oregon and Washington would have been an impossibility without our Pacific railways. The new West, to thrive, must have the footsteps and voices of the old homestead as next-door neighbors. The social and moral and religious benefits of our flowing together are already happily obvious in a thousand modern ways of union where theology gives place to religion, and living is more than believing. A railroad between Jerusalem and Samaria would be a wonderful aid for the passengers and freight in the great business and commerce of godliness. If there were to be no railroads, it was, on the whole, rather an impertinence in Columbus to discover America."

VOCAL AND ACTION LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND EXPRESSION. By E. N. KIRBY, Instructor in Elocution in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 234. Boston. Lee & Shepard.

Harvard has turned out numerous elocutionists in the course of her prosperous career, not least among whom is the present incumbent of her executive chair, as is evinced each winter by a dozen or more of telling addresses before the alumni associations of her graduates. No doubt the present volume is the outgrowth of the requirements of the University. It is, in fact, the result of a ripe experience in the art of instructing those who knew practically nothing of reading or speaking in public. Oratory as an art is said to be dying out, yet if the volume of speeches be considered, the statement can hardly

be accepted as true. The fact probably is that there is more of it; as there is of everything in the literary line, and we are suffering from a superabundance rather than from a dearth. Prof. Kirby's systematic arrangement of analysis and principles speaks highly for the intelligent research which he has brought to bear in the preparation of the work. His treatise touches upon all the vital points necessary to the training of an accomplished and effective speaker, and the selections at the end of the volume are a pleasing variation from the list that is usually found in similar compilations.

IRELAND'S CAUSE IN ENGLAND'S PARLIAMENT. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M. P., with a Preface by John Boyle O'Reilly. 16mo, pp. 132. Boston. Ticknor & Co.

A very large proportion of the intelligent native American public are naturally tired of the Irish question. While they sympathize with anybody's wrongs, they are mindful of their own rights, and they cannot but remember that the Irish alone, of all their adopted citizens, have abused their privileges by a seeming willingness to embroil the United States with the mother country. It is well, however, that every one should know the facts in the case, and we know of no better presentation of them than is found in Mr. McCarthy's exceedingly well written and dispassionate monograph. As Mr. O'Reilly says in his preface, "For seven centuries Ireland has fought England physically—a feat of incredible courage, for the odds were hopeless . . . and every year added a new chain to the vanquished. But as soon as Ireland lays down the pike and takes up the sword, her advance begins. . . . It promises to be the first radical national reform by legislation without revolution, of European history."

The story is told with a spirit and a literary skill that might readily have been predicated of the author, and while it may not make many active American partisans, it must present to its readers in a clearer light the really noble and patriotic principles involved.

QUEEN MONEY. By the author of THE STORY OF MARGARET KENT. 12mo, pp. 513. Boston. Ticknor & Co.

The "Story of Margaret Kent" was so conspicuous among the American novels of last year, that the author needed no introduction to secure a welcome for her second venture. Her experience, however, must be unlike that of many authors who are successful with a first attempt, but fail in a second, for she has fairly surpassed herself and has produced a story that evinces a high order of talent. "Queen Money" is

a tale of to-day, with an essentially modern text and an equally modern application. It deals with fashionable New York life. A very charming young fellow—"a gilded youth" he might have been from the outset if he had not been made of better stuff—comes to New York as the partner of a young but prosperous Wall Street broker. He is related to one of the old Knickerbocker families, and enters society under auspices that might easily have turned a steadier head than his. Every eligible girl in town is ready to meet him more than half way in flirtation. serious or otherwise, and even the young married leaders of society are eager, with varying motives, to secure him as a member of their respective coteries. There is nothing original in all this, but the free and dashing touch with which the canvas is filled in renders the pictures which it presents of metropolitan life very entertaining. Every one who has had any opportunities for watching the doings of society must recognize the truth of the picture. One of the best passages is the description of an afternoon reception where a party of ladies and a few gentlemen, including the inevitable Englishman under the lionizing process, listen to the chatter of a gay young Society queen, who enchants the men and exasperates the women to her own intense satisfaction. The plot and its *dénouement* we leave for our readers to unravel for themselves, merely giving the tale a word of hearty commendation, and offering to author and publishers our hearty congratulations on its already assured success.

EDUCATIONAL TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Chips from a Teacher's Workshop. By L. R. KLEMM, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 408. Boston, 1888. Lee & Shepard.

We are glad to welcome this excellent little work, and the fact that its chapters consist largely of articles which have appeared in the leading educational journals, does not in any sense detract from its value. We cordially commend it to the attention of young teachers, to whom a hint is often better than a series of sermons. The author says, "You cannot impart knowledge. All that you can do, and that, I insist upon it, you must do, is to make knowledge palatable, to serve it well, to select it with reference to the child's mental stomach, to prepare it so that the child will be enticed to partake of it; but impart it you cannot." As to the management of pupils, the author offers many a good suggestion, one of which we cannot forbear quoting: "Preaching about faults, and admonishing, never yet improved the morals and manners of anyone, particularly those of a child, who is not able to comprehend your good intention or your doctrine. There is scarcely a fault in human nature but which can

be successfully eradicated in early youth, provided the proper remedy be applied." The book is crowded with clear and forcible discussions concerning the best methods of teaching.

LIFE, JOURNALS, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL.D. By his grandchildren, WILLIAM PARKER CUTLER and JULIA PERKINS CUTLER. Vols. I. & II. 8vo, pp. 524 & 405. Robert Clarke & Co. 1898. Cincinnati, Ohio.

These two handsomely printed volumes furnish important data concerning the true history of the early settlement of the Ohio Valley and the Northwest. Dr. Cutler kept a daily record of his personal affairs, beginning in the year 1765, and ending the year of his death, 1823, extracts from which constitute in this work one of the most interesting and useful autobiographies ever given to the public. Dr. Cutler's public services in connection with the great organic law passed by Congress, July 13, 1787, are clearly shown in these stirring pages, together with the reasons why some of its most valuable provisions were inserted, and its main features suddenly and favorably changed. The reader will also discover why and how a system of surveys was organized, after "long and painful deliberation," and systematic and permanent occupation of the Ohio country undertaken in direct connection with the application of the institutions of civil government. The idea of making wild lands a basis of revenue and of public credit was novel. Neither the colonies nor the British government had ever devoted vacant territory to that purpose. Dr. Cutler had to deal with the diverse elements of a new line of landed and territorial policy, bringing into practical use systems that had never been tried. The character of his negotiations with the Congress of 1787 has not hitherto been well understood. Fresh light is thrown upon every phase of it as one turns the leaf and passes from chapter to chapter. "It may be claimed for the Ordinance itself that it is the only instance in human history (with a single exception) where the laws and constitutions have been prepared beforehand, pre-arranged, and projected into a territory prior to its occupation by its future inhabitants. . . . All comers had notice that the organic law of the Northwest was intended to be the basis of a Christian civilization." The twelfth chapter of the first volume is devoted to "the Scioto Purchase," projected by Colonel Wm. Duer, of New York, the history of which reads, in our present prosaic generation, like a veritable romance. Dr. Cutler was a man of varied and scholarly accomplishments, with a keen sense of humor, and he was a racy and charming

writer. In his travels from state to state, in his social relations, as a member of Congress, and in all his experiences as a pioneer in the wilderness, he relates what he did, saw, and thought, in clear-cut, terse and straightforward language; and we are thereby introduced to nearly all the prominent people of the country during the period of his active career. To the student of American history these volumes are invaluable. No work has ever appeared so prolific in information to those who would correctly understand the beginnings of Ohio and her near western neighbors. Aside from this, the journals and descriptions are delightfully readable, and as a source of simple entertainment the general public will find the work more attractive than a romance. It has been very ably edited, and is presented by its publishers in clear, handsome type, on fine paper, and well bound. It is a work no library should miss, and every household in the country would be the better for giving it a warm welcome.

CANADIAN LEAVES. History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce. A series of new papers read before the Canadian Club of New York. Square 8vo, pp. 289. Pamphlet. New York, 1887. Napoleon Thompson & Co.

It is rare to find gathered into one volume so brilliant a series of original papers. A group of distinguished authors and scientists have contributed from their storehouses of learning to its pages, discussing the various themes mentioned in the title, all of which are of the first interest. "The Future of the Dominion of Canada" is ably treated by Edmund Collins. "The Schism in the Anglo-Saxon Race," by Professor Goldwin Smith; "Echoes from Old Acadia," by Professor Roberts, of Kings College; "Commercial Union Between Canada and the United States," by Hon. B. Butterworth; "The Mineral Resources of Canada," by John McDougall, and "The Humorous Side of Canadian History," by J. W. Bengough. The eloquent George Stewart, Jr., gives a critical survey of "Literature in Canada," which he says is in its infancy. "The plough has proved a mightier engine than the pen. . . . No one has been able, in Canada, to make the writing of books his sole means of living. . . . In almost any department of scientific investigation and thought we have an array of men of whom any country might be proud, some of them having a fame which is world-wide. . . . Canada is still young in years, and time will work a change. American literature has grown with the increase in the ranks of the leisure class in the United States, and education has done the rest. Only a few decades ago the people of the Great Republic were largely dependent on British and European

authors for their intellectual food. Even the serials in the leading magazines of New York, Boston and Philadelphia were from the pens of English novelists. The literature which we all admire to-day, is really almost of yesterday. . . . Give Canada a chance. Give her time to have a large leisure class. Give to her literary men and women the incentive and encouragement they need, and Canadian authorship will not lack in individuality and robustness."

BETHLEHEM TO JERUSALEM. A new poem by GEORGE KLINGLE, author of *Make Thy Way Mine*. With fac-similes of water-color designs, from studies made in the Holy Land by Harry Fenn, 1888. New York, Frederick A. Stokes & Brother.

Designed for an Easter gift, nothing could be more choice and acceptable than this dainty volume. The illustrations embrace the "Church of the Nativity" in Bethlehem; "Sea of Galilee, from Tiberias;" "Mount of Olives, from Jerusalem;" and "Jerusalem, from Mount Scopus;" and being highly and artistically colored, these pictures differ from anything hitherto published. The binding is in three separate styles—parchment paper covers, with lettering and decorations in purple and gold; heavy drawing-paper covers with original designs painted by hand in water-colors; and grass-cloth covers, a new and novel material made of fine grass, which takes water-color decorations easily. Each style is charmingly unique and in an appropriate box.

BIRTHDAY BOOK OF BIRDS. By FIDELIA BRIDGES and DORA REED GOODALE. GOOD AND TRUE THOUGHTS FROM ROBERT BROWNING. A new volume in the *Words of Comfort and Hope Series*, 1888. New York, Frederick A. Stokes & Brother.

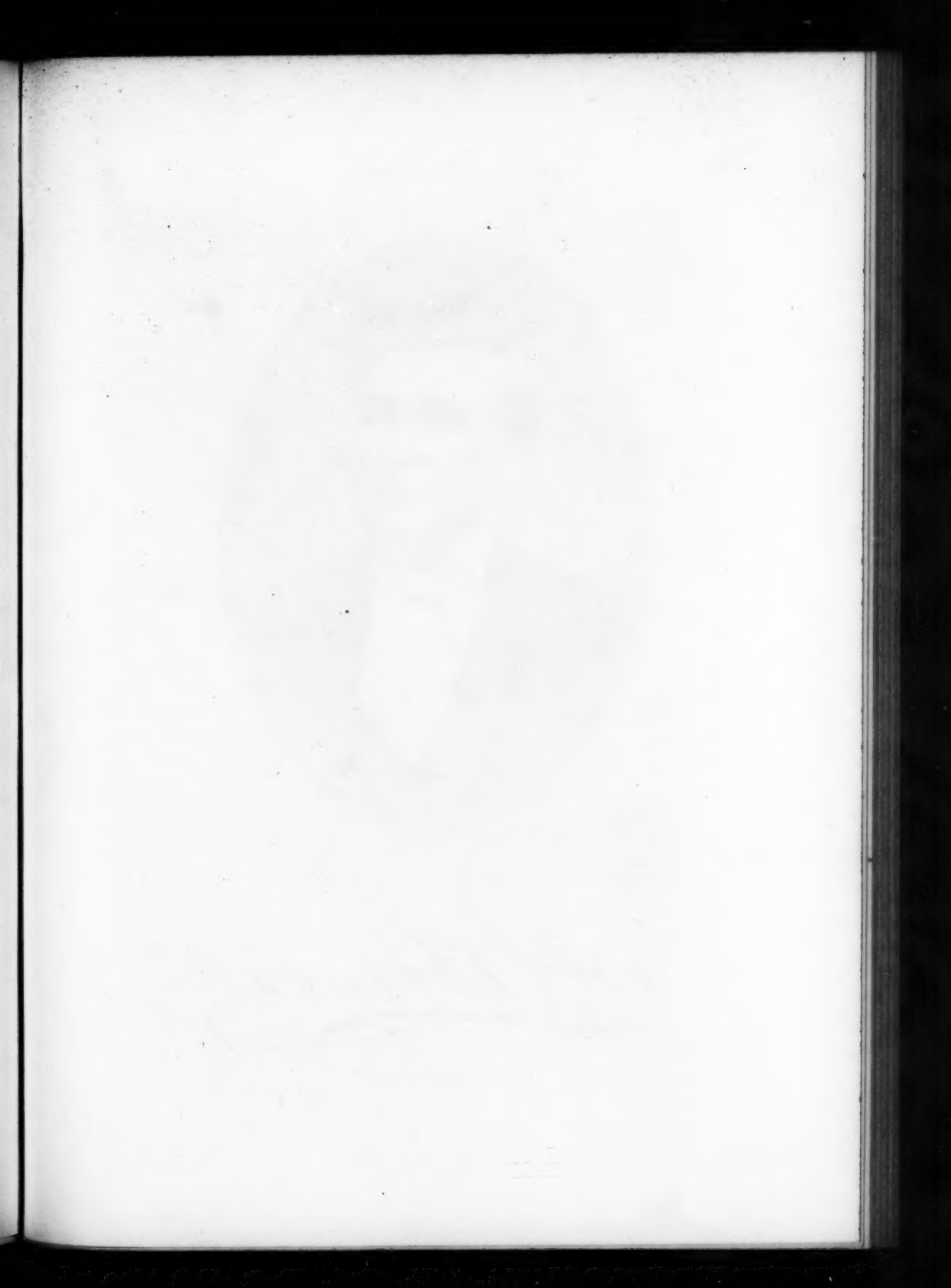
The original birthday verses in the first of these exquisite gift-books are illustrated by fac-similes of water-color designs of doves and peach-blossoms, humming birds, and wistaria, robin redbreast and snow; and the volume is in a new satin panel binding, with exact reproduction in miniature size, of Miss Bridges' design of "Bobolink and Clover." The second of the pretty books before us, the quotations from Robert Browning, is admirably printed in blue ink on very fine laid paper, wide margin. It is in Ivorine binding with tasteful designs in blue. This young and enterprising publishing

house of Frederick A. Stokes & Brother is to be congratulated on its ingenious surprises in the way of the new, good, and beautiful in gift-books, for the holidays, and for all days.

THE FALL OF NEW FRANCE, 1755-1760.

By GERALD E. HART. With Portraits and Views in Artotype. Square 8vo, pp. 175. New York and Montreal. 1888. G. P. Putnam's Sons, and W. Drysdale & Co.

"The past history of Canada from a provincial aspect is replete with interesting episodes of adventure, discovery, conquest—religious and political—and war by sea and by land, which have ever been the subject of polemical discussions." The introductory paragraph just quoted is the key-note of this well-written, elegantly conceived and printed volume. Montreal has a Society for Historical Studies (we wish every city on the continent had one), and the accomplished president of that society is the author of this interesting work, which was read in the form of a paper at one of the society's sessions. The graphic description which is given of Quebec and its inhabitants in 1759, and the battle of Montmorency, are alone worth the price of the volume. It contains many chapters of special value, together with numerous portraits and biographical sketches of the principal commanders of both the English and French armies, and of the prominent characters of the time. The portrait of Montcalm is particularly fine, as are those of Monkton, General Amherst, De Bougainville, Townshend, and Madame La Marquise de Pompadour. Of this lady at the time of the declaration of war the author says: "Making and unmaking cabinets, formulating and disavowing political connections, nominating and dismissing commanders-in-chief at will, the marquise was recognized as the leading power at the Court of France, her ambition and pride being alone satisfied when addressed by the Courts of Austria and Spain as 'Ma chère Cousine.' For Canada she entertained the sentiments of Voltaire, which were equivalent to a practical abandonment of a colony which they were pleased to characterize as an ice-floe from the Northern Pole, a country unworthy the sacrifices France had already made for it." An autograph letter of Wolfe appears in fac-simile, and there are excellent sketches of both Montreal and Quebec at the period under review. Mr. Hart thinks there was no necessity for the surrender or fall of Quebec consequent upon Montcalm's defeat. He says, "It was premature, and the result of military incapacity of De Vaudreuil and De Ramezay."





A. Barnes

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ALFRED SMITH BARNES

HALF A CENTURY AS A SCHOOL-BOOK PUBLISHER

NO period in American history has ever been characterized by greater intellectual restlessness or fruitage than the two decades subsequent to 1825. A mere catalogue of the various books, libraries, clubs, charities, churches, educational institutions, newspapers, inventions, industries and business enterprises which sprang into existence within those years would furnish an instructive lesson. We are all familiar with the story of the long-baffled efforts and final success of Professor Morse in devising mechanical contrivances for conveying messages from point to point by means of electricity. We know how depressing were the original endeavors to bring steam into harness for propelling land-carriages. We recall with something akin to wonder the wholesale terror inspired by the first introduction of gas for lighting houses and streets; and the persistent vigor which, in spite of bitter opposition and in a time of great scarcity of money, brought pure water into the city of New York through a conduit of solid masonry forty-five miles in length, at a cost of upwards of nine millions of dollars. We look backward also to this same remarkable period for the foundation of the great newspaper system of the country, which has become such an engine of thought as well as power.

It was an era of important beginnings. Authorship took a fresh start, art received higher recognition than ever before, exhibitions of pictures and statuary became both lucrative and creditable, while the drama struggled for elevation in keeping with the advance of public taste. "The age is itself dramatic," wrote a prominent critic in 1837. "There was an endless amount of groping experimentally in the dark, but the air was exhilarant with material progress and exciting possibilities. Among the most popular themes discussed in all quarters were the value of books as a means of culture; and the cause of common-school education. Far-sighted practical men were acting on the principle that no good citizen could afford to dwell in this world without the privileges of a public library;